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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

- Question of Low Birth Rate Examined
(Vladimir Kalaydzhiiev, Ofeliya Khadzhikoleva; ZEMEDEL'SKO
ZNAME, 14 Jun 82) 1
- Foreign Delegates Arrive for Dimitrov Theoretical Conference
(RABOTNICHESKO DELO, various dates) 6

POLAND

- 'L'UNITA' Notes Alleged New Solidarity Document
(Romolo Caccavle; L'UNITA, 22 Jun 82) 11
- 'EXPRESS WIECZORNY' Interview With Jan Kulaj Noted
(Jan Kulaj Interview; EXPRESS WIECZORNY, 26 May 82) 14
- Gen Mroz at Round Table on Military Control Actions
(Editorial, Wladyslaw Mroz, et al.; SZTANDAR MLODYCH,
14-16 May 82) 18
- Press Discussion of Youth Affairs Continued
(Jaroslaw Pachowski; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 24 Jun 82) 24
- Moral Crisis Cited, by Jaroslaw Pachowski
Youth, Politics, by Edwin Gorski
- Youth Group Representatives Meet
(SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 28 Jun 82) 30
- SZSP Activists
ZSMP School Youth Council
- 'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' Interviews WFDY Secretary Paliszewski
(Jacek Paliszewski Interview; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 1 Jun 82). 32

Olsztyn Party Plenum Held (GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA, 27 Apr 82)	37
---	----

Plenum Meeting on Agriculture,
by Jerzy J. Pantak, Roman Sensmecki
Report on Agricultural Economy,
by Zygmunt Kruk

YUGOSLAVIA

Composition of LCY Central Committee (TANJUG Domestic Service, 29 Jun 82)	56
--	----

Mamula Addresses LCY Congress Commission (Branko Mamula; NARODNA ARMIJA, 1 Jul 82)	58
---	----

QUESTION OF LOW BIRTH RATE EXAMINED

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 14 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Discussion with Comrade Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, Deputy Chairman of the Council for the Reproduction of Human Resources Under the State Council, by Ofeliya Khadzhikoleva: "Is It Possible 'To Extinguish the Fire' in Demography?..."]

[Text] The urgent problem for our nation of the birth rate is not a passing matter nor is the discussion of it. Everyone has an opinion about this, whether the joys and trials of parenthood are far in the future or far behind in our lives.... And this is all for the good! Because among all the questions of our existence there is probably no other which so depends upon us and so unifies all of us as the question of the future of the Bulgarian nation, that is, the birth rate. That for many years the birth rate has been disconcertingly low and that its figures continue to drop lower and lower--this is no longer a secret for anyone.

In 1960, the rate was 17.8 per thousand, in 1970 it was 16.3, in 1978, 15.5...and in 1980, 14.5.

That is, we are becoming an ever-older nation....

In 1970, for every 100 persons of working age there were 72.4 who were below or above working age. In 1980, the figure was 74.5.

Specialists consider this demographic situation formed under the influence of a low birth rate, a low death rate and a low natural increase to be a situation characteristic of a developed industrial nation.

"Even though we have achieved a historically known discrepancy in the rates. Before reaching the highest level of a developed modern state, we have achieved its low birth rate...."

Talking with us about this complicated, inexhaustible subject was Comrade Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, Deputy Chairman of the Council for the Reproduction of Human Resources Under the State Council.

"This is not only a complicated and inexhaustible subject. It is an enormous, I would say colossal, process of transforming human reproduction with profound socio-historical, material and psychological roots. It has its objective patterns. Just as in nature, a river cannot flow upwards against the current, so the birth rate

cannot develop along any other path but subordinate to the objective patterns and be their direct consequence and expression. The concern for the state of affairs and simultaneously the realism in assessing them are not contradictory and the two are essential."

Incidentally, what is included in such a vast concept as "objective patterns"? Among the infinite interconnected factors, both material and spiritual, let us choose just one, the realization of the individual. Certainly it most directly shows the trend and very goal of a socialist society!

A harmonious fully developed individual in fruitful labor develops the capabilities of his hands, mind and spirit, Can there be any more noble ideal? And it is a great pride for our society to create more and more such individuals! But in a small society which over a short period of time rapidly achieves many things, there are minuses along with the pluses....

"This is natural as the forces of an individual and his capacity are a determined amount. Figuratively speaking this is the numerator in a fraction which is also a determined amount. The denominator has many components including labor, the efforts for personal and professional development, various interests and goals.... Each of these seeks its own level but there is only so much capacity. The overdevelopment of any component in the denominator can occur only at the expense of others and not at the expense of the numerator. In setting exacting criteria and goals for oneself, the individual is aware of his own value and high quality but not so for the generation which will be created. Other biological species compensate for a lack of quality by quantity but this is not the case for man. What does man desire? Speaking most generally, to be happy. Society must create an opportunity for him to realize this natural aspiration."

Both these ideas and the alarming figures are equally true!

Where Does the Truth Lie?

In such a complicated and contradictory question, a nonspecialist involuntarily will tend toward absolutes: either a harmoniously developed modern individual or children.... But you cannot have the two! Can demographic policy reconcile the extremes?

"Let us continue what we have said about happiness. Because it is precisely here that things are reconciled and that the way is opened to influence the birth rate! The realization and expression of the individual also include the giving of birth and raising of children. To be happy means to give to people and to receive from them. And what greater happiness is there than the giving of life and receiving of affection! But happiness is not regulated either by enforceable enactments or by organizational instructions and duress. For this reason our basic goal in demographic policy which is a portion of all economic and social policy must be to make it easier for a family to have as many children as it wishes in order to be happy. Above all to bring about what one's soul wants...."

At first, such a goal seems strange.... But the data from numerous research silenced me:

As an average in Bulgarian families, two children are desired but 1.84 were born. Some 31.6 percent of the families have one child.

If we allow ourselves one calculation for the 1,525,428 Bulgarians who are now between the ages of 20 and 40, if they, as has been the case up to now, do not produce "just" the 0.16 point of the desired children, then this "minus" is over 200,000 children.... Undoubtedly the effect of the multiplication is excessively elementary for such a delicate question.... All the same, these are desired children!

"Is it possible to escape from this territory in which desire and realization overlap? It is possible, but.... In considering all the complexity of shaping human consciousness as a reflection of social reality! This means, without voluntaristic or subjective infatuations and digressions, but rather building patiently and systematically an entire complex which influences human existence and conduct, including indoctrination."

What about "working" on the territory where desire and realization overlap.... At times there is not even any unity between them!

"We must create this unity. It is an indisputable fact that for our society three children must be born in a family. But the real reserves are for two children. Why? Primarily because there is a stronger inner motivation for them in the family itself and its interests overlap more completely with the interests of society. When love for children is strong, three children will be born.... Then the family must receive even greater support in order to overcome the greater burden. Generally speaking, an interaction must be sought between the family and society."

But the psyche of these two collectives, large and small, society and the family, is very different.... Both in the manner of thinking and in the very attitude toward the birthrate problem. For example, how we discuss it in meetings and sessions, in papers and scientific studies, we could not even imagine such a conversation or concern within the families or in the bedroom of the spouses. But the path which we must follow lies precisely in the conformity of interests between society and the family, in improving this conformity and in resolving the contradictions!

Let me give a practical example. In a brigade a woman went on maternity leave.... For the brigade, that is, for society, this must mean that the woman, in leaving her collective, simply changes to another type of work. Through higher productivity and organization, the brigade must produce her share of obligations in production, thus sharing a portion of the concern for the children. In many places, this is done in various forms but still society does not sufficiently compensate for the hardships of parenthood or for maintaining the standard of living in a family with numerous children."

It was impossible that a conversation starting from general considerations about the value system of our contemporaries and their desire for personal happiness not to "land" on specific vital difficulties and obstacles....

Incidentally do the specialists have an answer to the major question of why Bulgarian women do not give birth to more children?

"The answer has been given by the women themselves in rather representative questionnaires: 'It is impossible to reconcile my labor and maternal obligations....' And while maternity and the raising of a child are socially useful labor, they must also be allocated the appropriate amount of time and labor not only from the individual but also from society. As an obstacle to a higher birth rate, the question of income is usually in second or third place, in being intertwined with the housing problem. Generally speaking, the answers are simultaneously different and monotonous..."

The monotony is natural and it also determines the uniformity of incentives to increase the birth rate. But isn't this same uniformity often turned into a vain attempt to have a uniform effect on diversity? Can the same incentives be applied to the 1.5 million women of child-bearing age?

"It is essential to seek out variable incentives for this diversity. Material aid is just one of them. Along with it there must be an opportunity for choice between work or leave, the breaking up of leave, the reassigning of it to the father or grandmother, a shortened working day and so forth, and so forth. With such flexibility the wife would have an opportunity to select the most suitable path for herself and the family. If one incentive did not work, another could satisfy her and succeed. The question has many aspects.... The most essential thing in my mind here is something else, mainly the actualization of the various incentives. Modern life is dynamic and in it old decisions can hardly be used for present-day problems. Incidentally, this is an observation from practice as each new incentive for increasing the birth rate operates for a certain period of time (up to 5 years). After this, it again declines."

But then are not the state and society "doomed" to constant demands growing in a geometric progression for providing more and diverse incentives and to whom? In carrying on a frank dialogue, this question cannot help but be raised with all its categoricness.

"It is a question simply of a consistent demographic policy and the Bulgarian state, the party and the government are presently carrying it out. Without going into details, let us remember that the incentives, the various aid and expenditures in caring for and raising children and so forth "cost" around 2 billion leva annually. Is there anyone who is not properly aware of this fact? But it is also natural for demographic policy to be continuously improved. And this at times requires funds.... A difficult situation ensues. Due to the aging of the population, a very large portion of the social funds must be assigned to the needs of the elderly people. This is just, but to a certain degree it limits the material opportunities to stimulate the birth rate. This remains low and this further leads to the aging of the population and thus becomes an infamous circle."

What then are the immediate prospects for this circle?

"In demography there are no outbursts or great jumps, but rather processes that are long, complicated and with great inertia. In it extreme measures are neither necessary nor effective and the concept of 'extinguishing the fire' is inapplicable here. Our valid concern must be expressed in the systematicness and all-encompassingness of our concerns to raise the birth rate. That new concerns and measures are needed--this was brought up both at the 12th BCP Congress and in a number of other speeches by Comrade Todor Zhivkov."

Again, we looked through these documents, a concentrated expression of national alarm and concern.... National because more and more we are becoming aware that the demographic conduct of an individual does not come without effort, as an ideal which determines reality, rather it is determined by reality. Incidentally this is quite natural and is simply a part, a specific manifestation of our materialistic philosophy....

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CSO: 2200/118

BULGARIA

FOREIGN DELEGATES ARRIVE FOR DIMITROV THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 Jun 82

[13 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] The following delegations arrived to participate in the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporary Life and Problems": member of the Central Committee of the Pakistan Socialist Party, Mohammad Akran; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM), Rakotomalal Manana Ignace; and member of the Central Committee of the Dutch Communist Party, Cees (Eymkers).

They were met by the secretaries of the BCP Central Committee Georgi Atanasov and Misho Mishev, section heads and persons in responsible positions in the Party Central Committee and the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

[14 Jun 82 p 8]

[Text] The following delegations arrived to participate in the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporary Life and Problems": secretary of the National People's Party in Bangladesh, Amina Ahmad; member of the Executive Committee of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Janet Jagan; delegation of the National Progressive Party in Egypt, led by deputy chairman and member of the Party General Secretariat, Ahmad Waked; delegation of the Broad Leftist Front of Ecuador, Jorge Guerrero and Julio Fiolo; delegation of the Iranian Communist Party, led by member of the Party Political Bureau Abdul Razak al Safi; delegation of the national defense committees of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, headed by committees chairman Sulayman Nasir Muhammad, member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party; delegation of the National Democratic Front of the Yemen Arab Republic, led by 'Abdal Hafez Abuada; delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of the National Assembly and chairman of the National Council for the National Homeland Construction and Defense Front, Chea Sim; secretary general of the Canadian Communist Party William (Kashtan); delegation of the Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), led by deputy secretary general of the Party Central Committee, Andreas Fandis; delegation of the Cypriot Democratic Party (DIKO), headed by deputy secretary general Polivnos Kolokos; delegation of the Cuban Communist Party, led by candidate member of the Political Bureau and member of the

Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party Antonio Perez Herrero; delegation of the National Construction Front of Laos, headed by deputy chairman of the Front Central Committee (Bulais Bualafa); member of the Political Bureau of the Palestinian Communist Party, Sulayman Najab; delegation of the Peruvian Socialist Revolutionary Party, headed by party chairman Leonadas Rodriguez Figueroa; editor-in-chief of the journal PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA [Problems in Peace and Socialism] Yuriy Sklyarov; secretary general of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, Khaled Vardash; delegation of the Turkish Communist Party, headed by the secretary general of the Party Central Committee, I. (Bilen).

They were met by Comrades Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Kiril Zarev, section heads and deputy section heads, and persons in responsible positions in the standing committees of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, by the deputy chairmen and secretaries of the National Conference of the Fatherland Front and by representatives of sociopolitical and mass organizations.

[15 Jun 82 p 8]

[Text] The following delegations arrived to participate in the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporary Life and Problems": chairman of the Central Committee of the Australian Socialist Party, Jack MacPhillips; delegation of the Austrian Communist Party, led by Party Chairman Franz Murray; delegation of the Argentinian Communist Party, headed by Party Secretary Athos Fava; comrade in arms of Georgi Dimitrov, Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Argentinian Communist Party; delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, led by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee, chairman of the National Fatherland Front (Salekh Zeray); member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party Jan Debrauer; delegation of the Benin Revolution Party, led by member of the Party Central Committee René Gaillon; delegation of the committees for defense of the revolution in Benin, headed by Elias Salamon; delegation of the Vietnamese Communist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau and BCP Secretary Vo Chi Cong; coordinator of the committees for defense of the revolution in Ghana (Kopi Smit Tete Teyya); delegation of the German United Socialist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee Hermann (Aksen); representative of Guinea-Bissau, Paulo Alvis; veteran of the Greek Communist Party, Petros Rusos; member of the Executive Bureau of the All-Greek Socialist Movement (PASOK), Andreas Christodoulidis; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party, Ib Nørland; member of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, Nabil Yakub; delegation of Socialist Ethiopia, led by member of the Standing Committee of the Temporary Military Administrative Council, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the KOPTE [expansion unknown; presumably Communist Party of Ethiopia], Endale Tesema; delegation of the United Socialist Party of West Berlin, led by Party Chairman Horst Schmitt; delegation of the African National Union of Zimbabwe, led by Eddison Zvobgo; delegation of the Israeli Communist Party, led by chairman of the Party TsKK [sic; possibly error for TsK, Central Committee], Wolf Ehrlich; member of the Democratic Front for Peace and Detente in Israel, David Burstein; delegation of the Irish Communist Party, led by Party Secretary General Michael O'Riordan; representative of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, José Vasquez; delegation of the Italian Communist Party, lead by member of the party leadership, Renato Zangheri;

delegation of the Indian National Congress, led by Member of Parliament Navesh Kishor Sharma; delegation of the Kampuchean Homeland Unification, Construction and Defense Front, led by Front Secretary General Yos Por; delegation of the Korean Labor Party, headed by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the KTP [Korean Labor Party] Kim En Nam; delegation of the Colombian Communist Party, led by Party Secretary General Gilberto Vieira; delegation of the Congo Labor Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Michel Yangouma; deputy secretary general of the People's Advance Guard of Costa Rica Eduardo Mora Valverde; secretary general of the United National Front of the Comoros Islands Said Abdullah Said; chairman of the Luxembourg Communist Party, René Urbani; secretary general of the Communist Party of Malta, Antonio Vassallo; delegation of the Party of Progress and Socialism in Morocco, led by Party Secretary General Ali Ata; deputy chairman of the International Association of Democratic Jurists, Solange Bouvier Ajonc; chairman of the Mexican United Socialist Party, Miguel Angel Valasco Muñoz; delegation of FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], led by member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Mario Machungo; vice-president of MOZh [International Organization of Journalists], Ifraim Caro; secretary general of MSS [Mezhdunarodniya studentski suyz; International Student Union], Srinivasan Kunalan; delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, led by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee (Demchigiyn Molomzhants); delegation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, led by deputy secretary general of the Socialist Party of Working People in Nigeria Wahab Gudlak; delegation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, led by member of the Front Central Committee Manuel Morales; delegation of the Patriotic Front of Revolution in Nicaragua, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Party Central Committee Gustavo Tabladi; national secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, George Jackson; secretary general of the Panamanian People's Party, Rubin Dario Sosa; delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party, led by secretary general of the Party Central Committee Jorge del Prado; member of the delegation of the Polish United Workers Party and secretary of the PORP [Polskata obedinena rabotnicheska partiya; Polish United Workers Party], Marian Orzechowski; delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, led by Party Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal; deputy chairman of the Portuguese Democratic Movement, Luis Catarino; representative of the journal PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTISIALIZMA, Yevgeniy Pamfilov; delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, led by member of the Standing Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Dumitru Ponescu; delegation of the Communist Party of the United States, headed by national party chairman Henry Winston; comrade in arms of Georgi Dimitrov, Grigoriy Sorkin; secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions Ibrahim Zakariya; deputy chairman of the World Peace Council Amerigo Terenzi; member of the Central Committee of the Sudan Communist Party Izeddin Ali Amer; delegation led by the first secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party Mohamed Harmel; delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Gyorgy Aczel; first secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party Rodney Arismendi; delegation of the German Communist Party, led by party chairman Herbert Mies; delegation of the Finnish Communist Party, led by party chairman Jouko Kajanja; delegation of the Democratic Union of Finnish People, led by member of the secretariat of the DSFN [Democratic Union of the Finnish People] Ritvo Savchenko; delegation of the French Communist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party Francette Lazare;

delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Vasil Biljak; delegation of the Chilean Communist Party, led by Party Secretary General Luis Corvalan; member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chilean Socialist Party Felicia Herrera; delegation of the Swedish Leftist Party-Communists, led by Party Chairman Alf Löwenborg; delegation of the Swiss Labor Party, led by honorary Party Chairman Jean Vincent; delegation of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, led by Secretary General of the Party Central Committee Katorug Pablis de Silva; delegation of the Union of Yugoslav Communists, led by member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Union of Yugoslav Communists Miloš Minič; chairman of the South African Communist Party Yusuf Dadu; Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Jamaica Trevor Monroe; delegation of the Japanese Communist Party, led by Hidesato Numata, personal representative of the chairman of the Japanese Communist Party; member of the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Socialist Party Noboru Yagi.

They were met by Comrades Ognyan Dynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov and Vasil Tsanov, section heads and deputy section heads and persons in responsible positions in the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairmen and secretaries of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and representatives of social organizations.

[16 Jun 82 p 6]

[Text] The following delegations arrived to participate in the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporary Life and Problems": delegation of the MPLA*-Labor Party, led by Luis Pisaro, head of the political education section of MPLA; delegation of the Benin National Revolution Party, led by Political Bureau member Roger Imuru Garba; delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, led by deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Huu Tho; Secretary General of the Guadeloupe Communist Party Guy (Danent); chairman of the Danish Communist Party Jørgen Jensen; delegation of the Dominican Communist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee José Enrique; Secretary General of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party Chandra R. Rao; delegation of the Jordanian Communist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Yakub Zaeddik; member of the central leadership of the Norwegian Workers Party (Tryubvs Brateli); member of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization Taysir Khaled; delegation of the Senegal Liberation and Labor Party, led by Deputy Party Secretary General Amat Dansoko; Secretary General of the SFDM [World Federation of Democratic Youth] Mikloš Barabaš; Secretary General of the MFDZh [International Federation of Democratic Women] Mariam Vire-Tuominen; regional secretary and member of the RPT [expansion unknown; possibly Workers Party of Labor] in Tanzania (Ngombale Muiuru); member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Philippine Communist Party José Lava; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Swedish Leftist Party--Communists (Amdersh) Westerberg; deputy chairman of the Swedish Workers Party-Communists Alf Löwenborg.

They were met by Comrades Stanko Todorov and Vasil Tsanov, section heads and deputy section heads and persons in responsible position in the Party Central Committee.

* MPLA [Angolan People's Liberation Movement]

[17 Jun 82 p 9]

[Text] The following delegations arrived to participate in the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporary Life and Problems": delegation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, led by Secretary General Gordon McClennon; head of the International Relations Section of the Central Committee of the State Party of Guinea (Bonata Dieng); delegation of the Spanish Communist Party, led by member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee and Party Secretariat Romero Marin; delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party, led by member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee Abdul Gana Abdul Kader; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party Nadim Abdul Samad; delegation from Nicaragua, led by member of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and chairman of the State Council Carlos Nuñez; delegation of the Polish United Workers Party, led by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Józef Czyrek.

They were met by Comrades Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the State Council Peko Takov and persons in responsible positions in the BCP Central Committee.

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CSO: 2200/120

'L'UNITA' NOTES ALLEGED NEW SOLIDARITY DOCUMENT

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 22 Jun 82 p 16

[Article by Romolo Caccavle: "Calling on Solidarity To Abandon Its Myths"]

[Text] A long document drawn up by a group of the union's counsellors--The possibility of relaunching an accord--Isolation of the 13 December forces.

Warsaw--A startling document drawn up by a group of Warsaw Solidarity counsellors is circulating in Warsaw. It is not yet an official Solidarity document--and we do not know whether it eventually will be--but rather a basis for discussion. However, considering the urgency of the issues it treats--the spirit of self-criticism which pervades it, its acknowledgement of the objective restrictions that hamper Poland, the realism of its projected goals and its upswerving insistence on a dialogue with the government--it could prove to be a valid influence toward overcoming the uncertainties and the immobility that afflict the Polish nation today. The copy in our possession--18 typewritten sheets--is unsigned, but we have every reason to believe that it is altogether authentic. Certainly, its tone and the concepts it proposes are typical of Solidarity thinking, indeed of the union's more moderate circles.

A Platform for Discussion

Confirming Solidarity's claim that it will never stop agitating for the release of all persons interned, arrested and sentenced, for the resumption of union activities and an end to the current "state of war," the document defines the present political situation as a gradual recovery from the shock of that "state of war" and a restoration (but clandestine) of the union's informational and organizational structures; a drastic decline in the masses' standard of living; scant efficiency in the anticrisis measures enacted by the authorities; and a deepening isolation of the "coalition" which fostered the 13 December coup.

Within this scope, Solidarity must develop its initiatives in three directions: resistance, mass action and the union's active presence in the factories; a national accord based on the Gdansk agreements of August 1980, such agreements assuming the form of a platform for a popular front; and rehabilitation of the economy with the participation of all unions and self-government organisms.

Our resistance and our eagerness for an accord, the document goes on, can reward the "coalition" of the 13 December coup with a dialogue and cooperation which would be less costly than the authorities' continued policy of repression and rejection of a genuine agreement. Certainly, from such an agreement we would expect the end of repression, but this alone would mean closing our eyes to Poland's dramatic economic woes and to the international factors that condition our country. To focus exclusively on the cessation of repressive practices would only restore Poland's status to what it was before 13 December which, in turn, would lead to a new polarization, hence create the conditions for civil war.

Society and Institutions

Society must accept with words and deeds the fact that the PZPR and the armed forces are permanent fixtures in our country's political institutions. To make a national accord possible, we must avoid paralyzing the government by intensifying its fears of public reaction. We can assume that the 13 December demonstration would never have happened had the government been able to compete with Solidarity; but the government had disintegrated and therefore it took recourse to the armed forces. Hence, our policies now must differ from those we pursued before 13 December. For example, we must renounce our demands for free elections and for new parties. We must learn how to restrain ourselves, to fight for instead of against something, for reforms, but not out of hatred for the government.

The document maintains that if we want to establish a national accord front, we must participate at least in these social and political organizations: PZPR, Solidarity, the Catholic Church, lay Catholics, farm Solidarity and the other unions. This, of course, presupposes the "reactivation" of all the unions as they were functioning prior to 13 December. Once constituted, the front must orient the aims of its national policy and organize elections. On the single electoral lists, a privileged place must be reserved for PZPR, but the Church and the armed forces would not enter candidates of their own. Parallel with the creation of the front, a unitarian program to salvage the economy would have to be devised.

Aware of the hostility such a program would foster within the union, the document urges Solidarity to abandon five myths which have obstructed its activities in the past; stated in synthesis, they are:

1) The myth of the avantgard--It was a signal error to have made no contact with the other unions and to take no interest in developments within PZPR. Today we must adopt a policy of alliances that does not exclude party members. Indeed, a recent public opinion poll indicates that some 70 percent of the respondents enrolled in PZPR favor reactivating Solidarity.

2) The myth of the "great coup"--This refers to the belief that the effective result of a general strike, another "August," could lead to a turnaround in the country's plight. August 1980 can never be repeated: today the party apparatus is no longer divided as it was in Gierek's time but rather united

out of its fear of Solidarity. Even the people themselves are more prudent. The concept of a "great coup" could induce the central powers to consolidate and alienate Solidarity from its potential allies, among them the Church.

Employing Strike Tactics

All the same, the idea of a general strike as the "ultimate arm" should not be totally discarded; such tactics, however, must take into account the [possible] "consequences in Europe--in which we live--of utilizing them."

3) The myth of the dangers in "joining the system"--"if we want reforms in Poland, we must join the system through a body such as a national accord front, and abandon the conviction that every compromise threatens to eliminate Solidarity. Acting on this belief could only result in one of two consequences--either a total war on the system or political passivity."

4) The myth of abrupt, violent change--Some persons think that current conditions could be reversed overnight. This is not serious. If we want to proceed with efficiency, we must learn to fight for partial and gradual changes.

5) The myth of social agreement--This notion is based on our August 1980 experience. It looks for new negotiations and agreements to call off the "state of war" and resolve other difficulties. For various reasons, such solutions to national problems are not possible today. Achieving a national accord does not signify coming to terms at any precise moment but rather launching a process founded not on negotiations but on reciprocal signals, marked by advances and setbacks.

The document concludes with a question: "Is there any probability that we can succeed?" Its answer: "The August 1980 experience, the extent of the nationwide resistance and our overall socio-economic situation shows that a probability, however feeble, does certainly exist." Although the document does not say so, such a probability could be realized through the prevalence of the forces within Solidarity and the government which actively seek a genuine national accord; but the two sides must understand and respect each other and accurately assess all those domestic and international factors that determine Poland's power balances.

9653

CSO: 3104/236

"EXPRESS WIECZORNY" INTERVIEW WITH JAN KULAJ NOTED

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 26 May 82 p 3

[Interview with Jan Kulaj, chairman of the suspended NSZZ "Solidarity" of Private Farmers, by Jacek Fafara: "The Interest of All Farmers Is Mutual," date and place not given]

[Text] The chairman of the suspended NSZZ RI [Solidarity of Private Farmers], Jan Kulaj, has been released from internment at the suggestion of the chairman of NK ZSL [Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party], Roman Malinowski. Currently, Jan Kulaj is staying at his family home in the village of Cieszacin Wielki located near the city of Przemyśl, where he is helping his parents run the family farm.

[Question] You were released from internment on bond of the NK ZSL chairman, Deputy Chairman [government rank] Malinowski. How did you take this?

[Answer] At first, I was a little surprised that the Deputy Chairman must stand surety in such cases because, after all, many representatives of the central authorities knew the chairman of the union [Jan Kulaj]. However, the chairman of NK [Supreme Committee], with whom we had frequent contact, probably knew me best and apparently did not find anything in my activity which would hold him back from making such a decision. After several months of isolation in a villa in Konstancin-Jeziorno, I was suddenly taken to see Chairman [of NK ZSL] Malinowski who informed me himself that I am free. I was happy, of course, because spring was in full bloom and every helping hand counts on my parents' farm...

[Question] You then had a long talk with Chairman Malinowski. What did you talk about?

[Answer] We talked about the continued activity of all forces in the country for the purpose of surmounting the food crisis. Our feeling is mutual that rural Poland, which has been neglected during the last period, must be surrounded with particular care so that, in a relatively short amount of time, its dwellers may contribute to the economic reconstruction of the country. I stated at

that time that an indispensable condition for the implementation of this goal is the reinstatement, as soon as possible, of trade unions. We also talked about the possibility of closer cooperation between the peasant party and farmers' trade unions. I consider this to be an open matter.

[Question] People are saying that the NK chairman has offered you a function in the ZSL leadership? Is that true?

[Answer] That is not true. I am not crossing over to any sort of leadership in the party [peasant]. However, I have been a member of ZSL for a long time and currently, during the time when the trade unions are under suspension, I can legally take an active part in it, just like any other member.

[Question] The union, which you head, has been suspended. What do you see in the immediate future for the trade movement of private farmers?

[Answer] The future of the trade movement depends on the direction in which the situation, in which we currently find ourselves, develops. The structure of the union, which existed before 13 December, was based on the administrative division of the country which made it possible to settle specific problems of the farmers with the authorities. The union movement in rural areas came about from the will of peasants; it was spontaneous and authentic, thus, it should be based on a program created by the peasants themselves. The canons of the trade movement in rural communities cannot be conceived from behind a desk and from above...

If the political situation will allow it and the unions will become reinstated, then the movement of professional private farmers will become unified and through its activity and with proper steps taken on the part of the authorities, it will be able to influence a definite improvement in the food situation of the nation.

[Question] What form, in your opinion, should the future trade movement of farmers assume?

[Answer] I feel that it is not necessary to introduce some sort of new trade union model in the rural community. The unions still exist since no one has dissolved them; they have only been suspended. They should begin their activity from a report-election campaign--starting at the bottom and going all the way to the top.

Presently, there exist several farmunions, of which actually only NSZZ RI "Solidarity" had--through the signing of the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki agreements--a specific program of activity. I believe that after the sad experiences, the farmers will want to unite the rural trade movement into one whole so that it

may become a worthy partner of workers' unions as well as for other organizations, among others, for ZSL and ZMW [Rural Youth Union], with which cooperation is indispensable for the rapid reconstruction of rural Poland and the improvement of living conditions for its inhabitants. Rural communities can assure food for the entire Polish nation only under such a system. Such were the intentions of those who formed the farm unions.

However, in order to unite the trade movement in rural communities, it cannot be done solely from above. This must take place at ground level--what I have in mind here is the uniform representation of each Polish rural community. It turns out that everything that is imposed from above has a negative effect on rank-and-file members since they do not feel their direct participation in activities undertaken by the union. The interest of all farmers is a mutual one and I think that after the sad experiences of the past period, they will draw conclusions for the future and will not allow themselves to become divided.

[Question] Currently, the most serious problem, as you yourself have said, is to pull the country out of the food crisis. In your opinion, how can we find our way out of it?

[Answer] In order for the country to pull itself out of the food crisis, food producers must not be left in the shadow of economic reform. If they themselves cannot work out suitable methods of management and at the same time, if they will not be able to accept certain decisions as their own, then this crisis will continue to grow. If some social stratum is to take serious responsibilities upon itself, then it must participate and share in the decisions to assume them. We cannot afford any further experiments. Some of them have already not proven true several times. We farmers know well the importance that our Homeland and Mother Earth has for us. If proper conditions are created as well as forms of management such as we are demanding become worked out, then, in a few years, we may become self-sufficient in respect to providing food. However, current plans cannot surpass the production capacity of rural areas.

We must begin with good work which leads to the assurance of the means for farm production and service for all of agriculture. If just for this fact alone, farmers will mobilize themselves to increase production and to improve the utilization of land. Rural Poland is run-down. Its reconstruction will be difficult. We know that we cannot change that which happened but we also know that we cannot count on anyone to do things for us.

[Question] How do you assess its implementation?

[Answer] The Rzeszow-Ustrzyki agreements from before 13 December were partially ready to be put into effect. We conducted systematic discussions with the authorities on this subject. During the last meeting with Chairman Malinowski, I was assured that they would continue to be implemented. However, it will not be possible to implement certain conditions at this time due to the present political and economic situation in the country. They will be taken care of after the reinstatement of the trade unions.

[Question] Prof Szczepanski recently stated in the Sejm that a national understanding on matters which are of the utmost importance to Poles is necessary and possible. How does the chairman of the suspended NSZZ RI "Solidarity" view this problem?

[Answer] I think that all citizens, who consider themselves true sons of Poland, will most assuredly embrace such an understanding. However, specific conditions must be met in order to achieve this goal. Society as a whole should express itself on this issue.

9853

CSO: 2600/697

GEN MROZ AT ROUND TABLE ON MILITARY CONTROL ACTIONS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14-16 May 82 pp 1,3

[Editorial round-table talk on the subject of comprehensive control of provinces with Division Gen Dr Wladyslaw Mroz, chief of the Armed Forces Inspectorate, chairman of the Inspection Commission; Col (academy graduate) Stanislaw Kacik, deputy chairman of the Inspection Commission; and Col (academy graduate) Wladyslaw Sochocki, chairman of the Subcommittee on Official Activity Management; by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and Ireneusz Czyzewski: "Under the X-Ray"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Control actions of this type are an extraordinary activity in our country. The most evident consequences of these control actions, at least for us journalists, are nervousness, trembling hands and sweat on the forehead for almost all your interlocutors, people holding positions of authority. At first sight, it appears to be an element of disorganization. Therefore, let us start with this question. What purposes should such control actions accomplish?

[W. Mroz] Every control action has a specific main goal and secondary goals. The foremost goal of this particular control action is to assist the organs of local administration in improving their management of subordinate elements, of the entire economy in their jurisdictions. Nobody likes being inspected, hence, the manifestations of side effects, of which we are also aware. This, however, is also a result of being accustomed to a lack of accountability and control of all activities, whereas control is an integral part of management and organization.

[Question] How has your control action been progressing so far?

[W. Mroz] Our team has been split into subcommissions, which include military specialists and representatives of the ministry of administration. We are interested in all the facets of life in a province. We formulate postcontrol recommendations on the basis of strong and weak aspects of work in these units. For example, in Torun Voivodship we reviewed 15 administrative units, including three cities, two joint city-gminas and 10 gminas. The reviews are comprehensive because they cover nine diverse fields simultaneously: social discipline and attitudes, management of official activity, construction, housing and municipal economy, trade, services, supply, agriculture, forestry, culture and arts, sports, health care and social security, security of [public] buildings and other.

[Question] However, the fish rots from the head on down. In other words, the efficiency of work at all levels depends on skillful management and organization.

[W. Mroz] Certainly, it does. Management of official activity is in the center of our interest. Almost everything depends on management. Where management is good, results are good too. For example, we have found that administration elements operating under similar conditions and with similar resources achieve very different results. This can only lead to one conclusion: the results depend on the organizational skill of the administrator [or] the secretary of the office.

[Question] Let us turn to concrete things. How does this look in practice?

[W. Sochocki] Management means in part, or maybe first of all, planning activities. Our subcommission takes particular interest in that. Planning was not and is not the strong side of the management cadres, for example, in Torun Voivodship, but not only there; this has been the case in Pila, the capital city and at present in Ciechanow Voivodship. In principle, this applies to all levels. Planning has been pushed to the margin of official activity.

[Question] So, we may say that conduct is somewhat Indian--from one day to the next. The day after tomorrow is no headache.

[W. Mroz] I will be more specific. Not only from one day to the next but in general, planning is for the sake of appearances only. Plans are one thing and life, quite another.

[Question] Would you say that plans are drawn up mainly for superior echelons and eventual control actions?

[W. Mroz] They are drawn up for bad inspections and bad inspectors who cannot or do not want to judge the plans on their merits, to find out how the plan of a certain management echelon agrees with those of the higher level and of subordinate management echelons and also how these plans are coordinated horizontally.

[W. Sochocki] This year, much effort to improve planning has been made; results, however, are not encouraging.

[Question] It is easy to pass such judgment from the inspector's point of view. But how can a gmina administrator plan anything, if he does not know whether enterprises in his jurisdiction will still be operating tomorrow or in a month, whether there will be a shortage of raw materials or energy, whether unemployment will show up? Will trade provide enough goods to cover ration allotments in 1 month? Will transportation receive enough tires and batteries; will the cars leave garages at all? A theoretical review of planning for me, a layman, is needed but under normal circumstances, whereas the present conditions are those of complete uncertainty, not unlike conditions at the front.

[W. Sochocki] Two kinds of planning should be distinguished--socioeconomic planning, where indicators from the outside are needed, and planning of the work of the office itself, of the unit itself.

[S. Kacik] I agree with what you said earlier. We also take into account the element of uncertainty. We are realists. Offices of the lowest, gmina, level, the most feminized, where men are considered to be "a rare treat," are in an especially bad situation. They have large labor turnover, workers with little professional training. Therefore, any energetic manager who is aware of this situation, who is capable of internal planning, devotes much time to training, to improving the skills of his personnel. There are managers like that, for example, in Radzyn Chelminski.

[Question] So much for this, let us return to external socioeconomic planning.

[S. Kacik] I will quote the words of one of the mayors with whom I talked. He said that the socioeconomic plan is but a "parade of wishful thinking." Unfortunately, we would admit that he was right, judging from our control actions. Why is it so? In the course of the year, plans are changed many times, they are not drawn up in several variants. And these "revisions" of the plan, mostly downward, lead to the office receiving the bonus for fulfillment in any event. There also are jokers who exceed severalfold the plans that have been revised downward many times and pride themselves on it. Then they keep their chests forward in anticipation of decorations. Only comprehensive control actions reveal the totally illusory and fictitious nature of this joyful creativity.

[Question] Lenin has said that "cadres determine everything." What cadres do we have in the state administration and why are they will far from perfect? The lower the level, the higher the percentage of women, the higher the labor turnover. The reason is simple--atrocious salaries. If you want to govern, you must also pay for this governing, not only make demands on people.

[W. Sochocki] The average salary of a person starting in the state administration, in a gmina office, is average compared with other sectors. It stands between 3,000 and 4,000 zlotys. Later on, however, increases over the years are very small. Therefore, workers with a tenure of 10 to 15 years earn up to 5,500 zlotys. This is much less than in GS [gmina warehouses] and SKR [Agricultural Circles Cooperatives]. This is why finding a good employee for a city and gmina office poses difficulty.

[Question] Can the state operate with the aid of so badly salaried administration?

[W. Mroz] The editors are drawing us into a very delicate subject. For many years, we have treated offices of lower levels and the state administration in general as something not too useful. We all know such notions as "paper shufflers" and "pencil-pushers." Low salaries and a lack of interest in educating these cadres followed the spread of this pejorative social stereotype of the entire stratum. This is part of the reason why office workers are recruited among those who are afraid of an honest day's work, have not found other employment or have no chance of finding it.

[W. Sochocki] The general brought up the issue of educating employees. An administrative program preparing office cadres existed until last year in Grudziadz, in Associated Vocational Schools. Students received practical training in city and gmina offices, in POM [State Center of Agricultural Machines], GS and SKR. There is a graduate of this school in Radzyn Chelminski. She can type, knows basic regulations, principles of organizing office work and so on. This program has been canceled. Apparently, it was not useful. However, accepting an office worker, after high school necessitates the supervisor overseeing him for many months.

[Question] Who trains the supervisors themselves? Isn't this a you-teach-me-I-teach-you type of situation?

[W. Mroz] As far as we know, nobody trains supervisors or mayors as well. These people are not trained even in the Center for Improvement of Management Cadres in Warsaw. Courses in organization and management in Jadwisin in the vicinity of Warsaw are not much help either. There is an Institute of Organization and Management at the University of Warsaw but it tackles matters that are too "formidable," whereas gmina administrators are too minute a problem.

[Question] If a supervisor does not receive training himself, who is to train his employees?

[S. Kacik] On the basis of our control actions so far, it can be ascertained that many supervisors are simply self-taught. They have advanced from department supervisors to administrators or mayors in the administration. One examples, Halina Kowalkowska, gmina administrator in Swiecie on Osa (Torun Voivodship), the mother of three, has been working in people's councils since she was 19. She has graduated from college; now she is completing level 2 studies. Nothing in the work of the office escapes her attention. Another example, Elzbieta Brylinska, B. A., gmina and city administrator in Radzyn Chelminski, advanced from an employee position in that office. For 9 years, she was the office secretary, or deputy administrator. As late as December of last year she was nominated administrator. We have watched her on the job, during the so-called reception day. I went there especially to see this. I wish that men could talk to people in that way, could manage the office like that. I can mention similar examples from Pila Voivodship or the capital city,

[W. Sochocki] It is good if a supervisor moves up through the ranks. It is different if he comes from the outside. These individuals have experience gained in enterprises or other echelons of administration but they are not necessarily knowledgeable about administering a gmina. The Torun Voivodship Governor's Office has short-term courses for such employees but this is not enough. Supplementary training of secretaries in gmina offices is especially needed, whereas the format of voivodships courses does not provide for that. For example, the office secretary in Pluznica displays much good will and involvement but little skill.

[W. Mroz] Practical experience is all right; however, lack of a system of training and improving the cadres coupled with practical experience is apparent.

[Question] However, in reality a supervisor often has for the most part responsibility but no genuine authority. He is dependent on many local arrangements, on the party secretary, on the GS director (who has his own higher-ups), directors of enterprises, militia chief--and that if we leave the parish priest out of it. In a word, he is severely constrained in his activities.

[S. Kacik] The supervisor is empowered to act on his own authority in matters of essential importance. In practice, he is the expression of the basic organ of people's power, the people's council.

[Question] Tell this confidentially to a first secretary of the [Party] gmina committee. Make him laugh.

[S. Kacik] We are telling him this pointedly.

[Question] The secretary will laugh, because he wields the power.

[S. Kacik] No, the people's council wields the power. If it is otherwise, we might be dealing with a confusion of notions. Everything depends on the person, on what he stands for. A transparent arrangement of responsibilities within the gmina must be brought about. Everybody must clearly know what belongs to the jurisdiction of the people's council, what to the administrator and, finally, what the secretary of the gmina [Party] committee can do. It makes no sense to vie with each other in "who is, after all, the authority around here" and in who wields power. Certain tasks should be fulfilled. I will quote the words of our prime minister in this reference, which can be reduced to four principles: everyone does his own work, everyone works honestly, everyone reports fulfillment, everyone is controlled and held accountable. This should apply to the administrator, the secretary, the militia chief and local managers and directors alike. The parish priest is outside the scope of our concerns....

[W. Sochocki] It is true, and our control actions bear it out, that many shortcomings result from ambiguous definitions of responsibility. Though the administrator has considerable coordinating authority, this coordination is inefficient and unenforceable due to a lack of regulations concerning his jurisdiction over, for example, units and enterprises on his territory. Simply, put, the administrator is no authority for them--their higher-ups are in the provincial seat and in Warsaw.

[W. Mroz] We are touching on the matter tangentially. We cannot restrict ourselves to the issue of responsibilities. We have not approached the organization of our administration in a scientific way, not even in 1975 during the administrative reform. The scientific approach is based on defining precisely the goals of existence for a certain organ. What is it for? What tasks must this organ fulfill? Accordingly, it should be defined. To whom is this organ to report in the vertical structure and who is to report to this organ? With whom will this organ cooperate? Only after full answers to these questions have been found, can we proceed with drawing up a block diagram of the organizational structure adhering to the principle of the more tasks, the larger the cell, and vice versa. It should also be remembered that the number of immediate subordinates or the number of cells cannot be too large.

We encounter a strange phenomenon: voivodship governors have about 80 immediate subordinates. Can one manage that many subordinates directly? Only after such a reasonable structure has been drawn up, rather than the one incredibly flattened and blurred, can the scope of powers and responsibilities be adjusted to it.

[Question] How does reality look in the light of this theory?

[W. Sochocki] It looks very bad. Take the example of drawing up socio-economic plans. The administrator elaborates them on the basis of data and plans of the units and enterprises in his area. He is responsible for fulfilling this plan. However, he cannot influence in any way the fulfillment of these plans in enterprises or their upward or downward adjustments. He is incompetent in these matters, though nobody relieves him of responsibility.

[Question] This comparison of theory and practice suggests a negative appraisal of the results of the administrative reform in 1975....

[W. Mroz] I am a member of the Society of Scientific Organization and Management. I have worked for a dozen years in the management of that organization. Looking from that vantage point, I will express my personal view. In 1975, a new model of administrative division was created. Unfortunately, the new model does not mean a better model. The desire then was to reduce numerically the administrative apparatus. This has not worked. According to some data, this apparatus has even increased. At the same time a still greater than before flattening of the organizational structure has occurred.

[Question] At the time, it was proclaimed officially that the office must be closer to the citizen.

[W. Mroz] It may be closer but the citizen now has more difficulty getting into the office. This flattening of the structure prevents the supervisor from managing efficiently the large number of subordinate units.

[Question] You are rumored to have brought about personally a reduction in personnel of the apparatus. Various numbers of supervisors of all descriptions are mentioned, who are said to "have been given the sack" due to your personnel recommendations....

[W. Mroz] This is not our goal. In the worse case, this is a result of "side activities." If we find out during a control action that somewhere a certain position is held by a person who is absolutely not up to the task, if we discover laziness, ill will and resourcelessness, we refer the matter to the governor, who makes his own decision. We do not hold him accountable.

[Question] Let us hope that our talk will elucidate for our readers the idea and goals of comprehensive controls of voivodships and in general of control actions carried out by the military. You are entering a field totally new to you, you have not been socialized in the environment of unwritten traditions and customs of the civil service at all levels. Therefore, you can make assessments free of routine and "objectivity on order."

This X-ray image will benefit many aspects of our social life.

9761

CSO: 2600/684

PRESS DISCUSSION OF YOUTH AFFAIRS CONTINUED

Moral Crisis Cited

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Jaroslaw Pachowski: "'A Voice in the Discussion' -- Before the PZPR Central Committee Plenum on Youth Affairs"]

[Text] Issues of the younger generation of Poles have been the subject of interest of the successive party congresses. Young people are also the focus of many proposals, appeals, and declarations being declared on various occasions by personalities in our economic and political life. During the exceptionally stormy history taking place in recent years, the party group at the highest level (during the time between congresses), the Plenum of the Central Committee, will be handling youth problems in a formal matter at its next session.

The Plenum resolutions should go beyond the closed circle of assessments, declarations, generalized offers, and pious hopes. All the correct hypotheses on which the party's youth program should be based have already been formulated many times, but we are still waiting for the program itself, a program of concrete action strongly rooted in the realities of the present, but with a conceptual perspective running far into the future. To be directly solely by ongoing tactical moves in the current situation can no longer produce even immediate benefits.

The specific nature of the crisis we are currently living through, as opposed to previous ones, consists in the fact that the dramatic situation in the country is leaving the decided majority of young people completely unprepared for it and completely helpless vis-a-vis the fundamental problems which life is placing before them, in my opinion. Fed for many years with the vision of moral-political unity of the society, a vision which denies the significance of such concepts as class struggle, the ideological front, or the political adversary, we have faced each day ideologically empty and more and more deaf to the truths which people are anxious to show us today. On the other hand, the consumer ambitions

which have been exceptionally awakened among young people are being painfully disappointed in today's national economic situation.

But we have already dealt both with political crisis and economic crisis already in the history of People's Poland, maybe not such a unified one or one of such enormous dimensions, but in this realm we already do have some experience. The important new element which militates tremendously against a generally bad situation is the fact of the new element of crisis. "Communists have been accused of many things, but never that they were thieves," were the words spoken at one of the first post-August plenums of the Central Committee, words which in essence eloquently stated the matter.

This Is a Moral Crisis

The models of proper civic behavior were shattered. The group of ethical norms was broken. Such values as knowledge, honesty, adherence to duty, and the like were lost. I think that in the minds of the younger generation it is this very crisis today which is creating the greatest void. We should start with its destruction. Especially since it does not require special financial outlays. There are also more substantive arguments. We want to shape an efficiently working society with a high sociopolitical sense, but independent of the declared political convictions of a person, no shirker or loafer is a communist. An honest worker is only a person for whom professionalism, honesty, and commitment to duty are important values in and of themselves. This is why to a certain extent the overcoming of the moral crisis is a condition to success in doing away with the economic and political tensions.

Over past centuries, in situations of particular danger, frustration, or breakdown, the human mind has developed an important self-defense mechanism, faith. In the face of destruction without any prospects, man very eagerly escapes toward a psychological oasis created by an orderly world of faith. Of course, I am in no way launching concepts of metaphysical impact on the society, but an important opportunity for getting ideological contact with the younger generation is the proposal of a specific faith formula, one of faith in the truth. To paraphrase the well-known saying, propaganda spread alongside the truth is the recognized privilege of authority, but that spread in place of the truth is deception vis-a-vis the society. I think that the party must speak with a modern tongue free of supreme reasons, objective circumstances and conditions. Today they do not explain much.

Let us instead get to our

Common Ideological Sources

Let us again discover the old truths. Let them take on a fresh shine. Let us again set up for ourselves certain basic questions, and let us answer them with Marxist criticism and Leninist courage.

Here it is difficult to avoid at least a short mention of the draft declaration "On What We Are Fighting For, Where We Intend to Go." For the most part it is a collection of correct hypotheses and accurate, often noble definitions. There is no room here for a detailed analysis of them. I do not think that the declaration, however, is a new enough conceptual offering. It does not tell us why we are struggling for specific goals as a Marxist-Leninist party or where we wish to go through socialist transition. The initial preamble defines the fate of socialism in Poland as being depending on getting the country out of the crisis. I would like to be able to continue to treat both these elements as being inseparable from one another and not as being in a cause and effect relationship with one another. After all, the essence of socialism is not just to achieve prosperity in itself, because it is difficult to oppose the existence of political systems which are more effective in this regard. For this reason, while 35 years ago the proverbial light bulb in the rural areas was a new quality in the life of man, through mass access to knowledge and culture, as a sort of common object of that life, the replacement of black and white television sets with color sets, on the other hand, is then only a change in the quality of the object, one more contribution to the formation of the consumer hierarchy of values. This is not an idea which can grasp people. For this reason, I think that this material, like the party's ideological declaration, is subject today to the everpresent need to deal first of all with the economic crisis.

Today we need a long-range but concrete, realistic program for shaping the young Polish generation's ideological and moral stance. It must take into consideration the need for fundamental work to raise the level of young people's sociopolitical awareness. There can be an impact on this consciousness only by breaking through the present moral crisis. The way to eliminate the barrier of trust is to present everyone with the fundamental questions which disturb young people and to give answers to them which will make it possible to see the essence of socialism not in the constitutional writings or in the achievement of prosperity but in the inevitability of the sociopolitical processes leading to the socialization of the relations of production and the construction of a system of social justice.

Key Element of Youth Success

of the party program may prove to be young people's participation in carrying it out. To show the younger generation of Poles the important attributes of political subjectivity which when used in a mature, responsible way, should represent an effective alternative to "resistance to flops," and this is an urgent need of the present moment.

The problem of the model of the youth movement is directly related to its implementation. I would like to stop at one of its aspects, the structure of youth organizations in the academic community.

At the present time, the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] is the only organization operating on the college campuses. Compromise of the hypothesis about the moral-political unity of Poles, which is one of the cornerstones of the creation of SZSP, has put a question mark next to the model of the college student movement. During the period of external threat, which the period of political confrontation with the Independent Association of Students [NZS] represented for SZSP, there was a natural amalgamation with SZSP activists, which for example bore fruit in the Third SZSP Congress, with its interesting content and the spontaneity of its course, proving to be a vitalizing process for the organization, but the need for model changes in the student movement remained in the unconscious of a large proportion of activists in the group and often started to be expressed in the discussions, especially once martial law was introduced. The result was the appearance of two basic cognitive currents:

Conservative, leaving the previous program of SZSP action in somewhat more flexible form, and

Reform, exhibiting the need to change the formula.

In closing it is worth considering the party's role. It seems as though the party has a very important role to play in the process of change going on, the role of guaranteeing the possibility for various groups of activists to function. The party's clear definition of political guarantees for all those who in various ways wish to work for the same goal could combat a number of displays of distrust or even pure reluctance within the heart of the student activist group. It could be a perfect buckle to link the whole model of changes in the youth movement, which would to a great extent help to eliminate the previously mentioned dangers. Another role of the party should be to supply various currents of sociopolitical activity with instruments for influencing the community. For the ideological group this is first of all the possibility of having an impact on the community's political awareness. It would therefore seem that it would be worth supporting the initiative which is waiting to be executed and which grew up within the Warsaw group of ideological activists, that of creating a sociopolitical publication to represent the Marxist way of analyzing reality, which would make it possible to answer the disturbing questions of the day in a critical, lively yet constructive way.

A party role thus conceived would in no way limit the community of college youth in its right to self-determination of its fate, but in the very process of creating decisions, an active, inspiring role should be played by young party members who must not remain indifferent to the discussions going on among all those people who have not stopped believing in the sense of propagating the ideas of socialism.

Youth, Politics

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Edwin Gorski: "Youth and Politics"]

[Text] Probably no social group is currently experiencing as great frustrations as young people are. The limits of its psychological resistance are defined by the basic issues of living: What to live for? Where to live? What else? The past months of social eruption have proved the determination of millions of young people along with their lack of life experience, but the subjective role of youth in the system of social forces has not been changed by them.

Martial law has laid bare the whole illusory nature of "the argument of force" and those like it. Vis-a-vis the society's burning needs and the necessities of the state, the problems of the younger generation have been pushed into the background.

Unfortunately the past efforts of the authorities to gain young people's trust have had the stamp of propaganda and expediency. The policy of granting credit to young married couples will not resolve the living-condition questions which I mentioned above. The youth movement cannot rejoice in any real social support either, although it represents the interests of a whole generation with respect to the authorities. There are large youth factions which remain outside its influence, youth searching for its behavior models on its own, for its Ideology expressed in its unrest and its doubts about reality around it. Despite the substantial efforts, the youth movement has not created a program or organizational framework to permit it to fill the cultural void in which young people have been living, studying, and working for years. In this situation, the organizations which propagate value criteria other than the socialist ones: the antisocialist organizations and the protest movements, have been able to have a stronger impact on young people's attitudes.

Life's realities are often stronger than the dreams or hallucinations flowing through the atmosphere from the command of Uncle Sam. The overwhelming but silent majority of young people are waiting for a hand from the authorities. These are young people different from the youth of 12 or 26 years ago. They have seen the fall of as many authorities before their very eyes as nests in the August sky. For this reason these young people are so difficult to talk to, so untrusting. Surely they wish to be listened to, but by those whose work will have the value of deeds.

Youth is a large social group. Therefore it has both interests and duties on the plane of the society as a whole and the local community. The soil out of which there has grown the mistrust which youth has to state structures was the authorities' treatment of their problems in subjective terms which are increasingly being felt to be the manipulation

of the generation's interests. Although the generation tie is secondary with respect to class ties, there is a whole range of problems of particular importance to people who are beginning their adult lives. The differences in wealth, education, and origin separate young people to a greater extent than they do adults. These divisions are felt as glaring examples of the lack of social justice. Their levelling in educational policy, the assurance of decent living conditions for young families, and the equalization of living conditions in rural areas with those in urban areas require a state youth policy conceived as the coordination of state efforts on behalf of the younger generation with the substance of the so-called youth policy. The goal of a policy thus conceived should be to develop the possibility of youth's participation in getting the country out of the socioeconomic crisis and restoring People's Poland to its proper place in the socialist and capitalist world.

Youth policy should be characterized by realism, which means that it must have available real instruments and means which make it possible to convince the untrusting as to its undertakings. Youth's expectations in the foreseeable future will far exceed the possibilities of meeting them. It is a question of leaving accessible to it the additional contribution of youth in minimizing this unfavorable balance.

In addition, this policy must be flexible, which means that it must contain variable, changing elements along with the changes which time brings. The youth organizations should be assured a significant influence on the size and shape of these elements. This must also be a stable policy which gives a sense of a long-range perspective, making future planning possible. The stability of any policy facilitates its intelligibility, the understanding of the principles and contributions by its direct beneficiaries as well as by the rest of society. It is hardly necessary to convince anyone that these are simultaneously the key conditions of its reliability.

The high point of the discussion on the younger generation could be the elaboration of the draft of the "Youth Law." A social debate could develop on the draft's formulations. Here the youth movement could serve as the organizer. In such a "talk between youth and the state" I can see the opportunity to break down the younger generation's distrust concerning program issues and to call young people's attention to the future, which at the present moment seems to be the most complicated problem.

It is only after this stage that we can think about formalizing policy and of creating organizational structure to carry it out and monitor it. I am afraid of beginning the dialogue from the other side, that is, from creating the structures. In this way there would be the danger of the discussion's being diverted from the meritorical plane onto the tracks of structural disputes, which besides antagonizing youth and its movement, will lead to no good.

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YOUTH GROUP REPRESENTATIVES MEET

SZSP Activists

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by JHG: "Preparations for the Congress; Meeting of the SZSP Group of Activists"]

[Text] What is the latest on the college-student movement? This question was the focal point of statements made by participants attending the meeting of the Aktiv of SZSP, the Socialist Union of Polish Students. The meeting was held in Warsaw on Saturday 26 June. There were nearly 150 SZSP activists from all over the country at the deliberations, which were an important part of the organization's preparations for the Ninth Party Plenum devoted to the problems of young people. The meeting was chaired by Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the SZSP Supreme Council [RN].

Members of the RN SZSP's Executive Committee presented the state of preparations for the Fourth SZSP Congress, which will be held at the beginning of November, the targets of this year's summer program, and the ongoing activity of the organization's echelons. For example, it was announced that in the very near future a joint draft will be presented concerning the system of material assistance for college students, as drawn up by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology along with SZSP. This system, which sees that the group's social and existential basic needs are met, will include the possibility of college students' being granted credit.

Those present at the deliberations talked about the course of pre-congress discussions in the various groups and institutions of higher education. Many of them emphasized that the critical analysis of past SZSP activity should help the organization in the search for its identity and in keeping its traditions and contribution. In discussions about the student movement of the future, it is necessary to use the analysis of its program goals and functions as a basis rather than organizational structures, which keep coming up. It was stated that the student movement should emphasize its ideological-moral and socio-vocational functions.

At the conclusion of the deliberations Tadeusz Sawic presented the organization leadership's position on the future of the student movement. In the opinion of the SZSP, the most important task is to continue and develop the socialist, democratic student movement and to integrate and bolster the student left and the social and civic activity of students. We want to recommend those solutions which provide an effective defense for students' intellectual and political aspirations and interests. Proposals for the solution of student problems by the student milieu itself are needed.

ZSMP School Youth Council

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article: "Attracting High School and College Students -- School Youth Council"]

[Text] The basic issues discussed by voivodship representatives to the ZSMP School Youth Council held in Warsaw on 26-27 June were an assessment of competition in the school, the results of the contests on subject matter, and the goals and tasks of summer camps.

Overall we can say that there is not much interest in the competitions. It is necessary to give higher rank to the contests like "Golden Trowel," "Socialist Training Group," "and "Model Pupil" or to change the formula and principles of participation. It often happens, as people brought up in the discussion, that participation in things like the Olympics on Knowledge About Poland and the Modern World are thrust on people. In extreme cases, on the other hand, teachers see no need to propagate the ideas of drives like "Leading Apprentice in His Vocation."

It was stated that the summer drive should help bring in the largest groups of young people who are not members, especially high school students. At the training-recreational camps new people should be acquainted with the methods of the organization's work and goals.

Propaganda is still effective. ZSMP should come up with interesting ideas in the high school and college community, without waiting with folded hands for joint operations to be announced. Winners of the ZSMP olympics who have already received college enrollment cards are sort of morally obliged to create initiative groups in the college community.

The formal summing up of the past 6 years of activity of the School Youth Council was made by Main Board chairman of ZSMP Jerzy Jaskiernia. He emphasized the importance of the actions undertaken and their effectiveness. The integration of the school community accomplished through this new inspirational group created after the Third Congress was also emphasized. He listed the school scientific movement, the historical education of youth, and the attractiveness of forms of spending free time as the most important instances of initiative. He extended his congratulations to graduates of secondary and vocational schools and wished them further success in their studies and their work. Four people were recognized with the bronze Janek Krasicki Award, and 15 young activists were given awards "For Service to ZSMP."

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'SZTANDAR MŁODYCH' INTERVIEWS WFDY SECRETARY PALISZEWSKI

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 1 Jun 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jacek Paliszewski, secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY], by Antoni Olczak: "Not Only Big Politics"]

[Text] [Question] We are speaking a few days before the 11th WFDY Assembly. This coming Wednesday, the representatives of progressive world youth, representing 300 organizations from 130 countries, will meet in the capital of Czechoslovakia. What will they discuss; what is the program of the Prague meeting?

[Answer] The Assembly is the highest constitutional organ of the Federation and just this very fact has a bearing on the specific program of this event. The basis for discussion will be the report of the WFDY Executive Committee, which will summarize the activity of the Federation from the time of the last Assembly, the 10th, which deliberated in February of 1978 in Berlin. At this point in the deliberations, the participants will conduct an analysis of the development of the international situation and, on this basis, they will evaluate the activity undertaken by WFDY during recent years. Next, the discussion will deal with defining the role and place of WFDY in the continuing struggle of progressive social forces for peace and disarmament, for specific activity on behalf of strengthening anti-imperialistic solidarity of youth and the protection of the rights of the young generation. These problems will, I believe, find themselves at the center of attention for the participants of the 11th Assembly.

Moreover, a whole series of statutory responsibilities stands before the Assembly, including the election of the organization's new executive board. I would like to remind you that the WFDY Executive Committee currently encompasses 68 member organizations while the WFDY Bureau has 33. A program of WFDY activity for the next 4 years, i.e., until the time of the next Assembly, will also be approved. In the course of discussion which is taking place in the world youth movement before the Prague Assembly, the opinion dominates that the 4-year program should be comprised of only essential directions and guidelines whereas a detailed plan of WFDY undertakings, activity and initiatives ought to be developed each year.

Besides a plenary discussion, in the course of which--as is expected--all of the delegations will express themselves, regional committees assembling

organizations from Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Near East and Asia will deliberate. Political problems and program undertakings, which directly concern particular regions, will be discussed in these committees. Three topic committees, which will concentrate on such problems as the struggle for peace and disarmament, the establishment of a new economic order and the protection of the young generation's rights, will also constitute an important forum of discussion.

[Question] From what you are saying, it appears that a great deal of work is awaiting the participants of the Assembly in Prague. Does the program foresee anything other than the deliberations?

[Answer] Of course, it does. Thus, for example, during the course of the Assembly, a series of meetings will take place in solidarity with youth and the peoples of various countries, among others, from El Salvador, Turkey, Northern Ireland and Palestine. An occurrence of importance will also be the "Tribune of Struggle With Imperialism"--a forum where examples of the struggle of youth with various aspects of imperialistic aggression will be presented. In Lidice, during the 40th anniversary of the barbaric crime which was perpetrated by the German Fascists on the residents of that village, an antiwar rally, several thousand strong, will take place. Representatives of peace movements from all of Europe will take part in it.

Returning once again to the deliberations, I will add that in Prague parallel with the 11th Assembly, sessions of its three specialized branches will take place: the International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements [ICCAM], the International Bureau for Youth Tourism and Exchange [IBYTE] and the International Volunteer Service for Youth Solidarity and Friendship [SIVSAJ].

[Question] Within the framework of the division of work in the WFDY Bureau, you direct the work of the European Committee and you are also responsible for the cooperation of WFDY with the UN as well as with nongovernment organizations. I would like to pose the next question in reference to this. What is the WFDY doing and, in particular, the committee which you head, so that on the continent on which detente was born, it could continue to develop despite such conflicting activity as the stimulation of the arms race, the introduction of economic restrictions or the escalation of propaganda warfare?

[Answer] Europe is a continent where not only the CSCE process was born but where the dialogue of young people with differing political and ideological orientation has the longest tradition and the greatest accomplishments. Despite the felt whiff of the cold war and all those negative phenomena in international relations which you have mentioned, the dialogue between young people from countries with varying socio-political systems has not been weakened. What's more, in the past, when other channels of cooperation and international understanding were blocked, dialogue within the framework of WFDY nevertheless continued. The sense of WFDY's existence depends, among other things, on developing such a dialogue.

Presently, WFDY encompasses about 40 organizations from our continent. The mainstream of political discussion in the European Committee will be--as we anticipate--defining the role and position of member organizations in the struggle of the broad front of social forces and nongovernment organizations for peace and disarmament. We will confer about what young Europeans can and should do to ease the tense international situation and to strengthen the process of political detente on the continent and, at the same time, in the world for, after all, the development of the situation in Europe has a vital influence on the situation in other regions.

The activity of our member organizations has an effect on mobilizing wide circles of social opinion against such peace threatening action as, for example, the NATO decision about the placement of medium range nuclear rockets throughout Europe.

For the purpose of illustrating our activity, I will mention only the most important mass peace demonstrations with the participation of WFDY member organizations which took place in Western Europe in the last 3 weeks, i.e., such rallies as the concert "Artists for Peace" in West Berlin with Mikis Teodorakis and other well-known personalities from the world of culture; demonstrations in Vienna and in Goeteborg, Sweden as well as the peace festival in Nimes, France. On 16 May, the Greek committee for international detente and peace ceremoniously lit the torch on Mount Olympus with the flame of peace and it is now being relayed across Europe to Lisbon so that from there, on 7 June, on the opening day of the Second Special Disarmament Session of the UN General Assembly, it may reach UN headquarters in New York by way of Canada.

Young Europeans have come to understand that the matter of peace keeping is an issue which concerns us all, that it cannot be dismissed with indifference and that it cannot be left solely in the hands of governments and professional politicians. That is why we are presently observing, concurrently with an increase of confrontational politics of imperialism, a true explosion of activity of social forces. They are undertaking a myriad of activity in order to prevent the threat of an outbreak of a new armed conflict. In the antiwar movement, which is developing on an unprecedented scale in Europe, it is the young people who are playing an especially active role.

[Question] Is the cooperation of WFDY with other European youth organizations only occasional and does it take shape only when--as in the case of antiwar protests--a common goal unites young Europeans, or does it have a more profound character?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, WFDY is traditionally committed to extensive dialogue conducted in the name of peace, cooperation and detente. From the initiative of WFDY and with the significant participation of the Polish youth movement, the appointment of an All-European Structure of Youth and Student Cooperation came about in the fall of 1980. This is a body which forms the platform of cooperation of European youth organizations representing various orientations. Over 30 organizations from outside of WFDY belong

to it including socialist, Christian, conservative, liberal, etc. organizations. So far, a dozen or so successful programs have been conducted jointly, among others, the European Youth Conference held in Stockholm last year on the subject of the Protection of Man's Natural Environment as well as Youth and Student Days for Disarmament in Europe. Currently, work groups are also working together. They prepare reports on the subject of youth status in the individual countries of our continent.

[Question] What sort of new initiatives and action may we expect from WFDY in the immediate future?

[Answer] It will not be until the plenary session of the 11th Assembly and during the session of the Committee for Peace and Disarmament that a program of definite undertakings of WFDY member organizations will be worked out for the upcoming term. However, during the next few days, the most important initiative of the Federation will be the worldwide campaign of youth for peace and disarmament proclaimed at the aforementioned rally in Lidice on 8 June.

In connection with such events as the special UN disarmament session and the NATO summit in Bonn, WFDY member organizations are planning to conduct numerous peace demonstrations. The most massive ones will take place in FRG, Paris and New York. The New York demonstration, scheduled for 12 June, will be held with the participation of representatives of various organizations from all continents. A joint appeal, which is to be directed at the participants of the special session of the UN General Assembly, is to be made at this demonstration.

[Question] Will this appeal be delivered directly to those to whom it is addressed?

[Answer] Yes. It will be read from the UN [speaker's] platform. This will be possible since 2 days of the deliberations of the special session have been reserved for listening to the opinions of nongovernment organizations. The WFDY chairman will also have the opportunity to present to the UN General Assembly our view on the subject of armaments and disarmament. I will add that from the moment of WFDY's inception we have been working in cooperation with the UN and its specialized departments, among these, particularly closely with the Economic and Social Council [ECOSOC] and with UNESCO.

[Question] From where does the WFDY obtain funds for its activity?

[Answer] The basic source is contributions of member organizations contributed in varying degrees depending on the financial means of particular organizations. Also, the publishing activity conducted by the Federation--our publications in Spanish, French and English are sold in many countries--brings in some profit. We are also conducting a drive for a so-called solidarity fund during which, through the sale of stamps and plaques with the WFDY emblem, we acquire modest funds for the needs of the most needy organizations. From funds acquired in this way, we have, for example, bought

materials needed to equip schools which are run by the African national independence movements.

[Question] We have strayed, at this moment, from issues concerning "big politics." Could you give me other examples of assistance provided by WFDY?

[Answer] We direct whatever assistance is within our means above all to developing countries. Thus, during the last few months, we have sent medicine to Cambodia, Vietnam and Afghanistan, and in recent weeks we have given financial assistance to the people of Southern Lebanon, which has fallen victim to Israeli bombing. There is also a continuing solidarity campaign whose goal it is to build a Pioneer House in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam.

At the same time, through our SIVSAJ agency, we send to developing countries solidarity brigades of young doctors, teachers and representatives of technical professions. They bring assistance to the local population and, as experts, they help in solving specific economical and technical problems. Currently, such brigades are working in Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola and Cambodia.

[Question] WFDY is already 37 years old. In human terms, it has passed the stage of youth. Is it still continuing to develop or is it at the stage of "minor stability"?

[Answer] WFDY is an organization of young people, and just as the awareness of the young generation is changing, as their sense of responsibility for the fate of the world, for the future of the society in which they live becomes all the more universal, so does the character and style of work in the Federation. Inactivity does not threaten our organization. After all, there is a constant inflow of new members; the rotation of activists is also a continuing process and new people, who grew up under changing conditions, always contribute something new and in this way enrich our activity.

On the other hand, the major program goals of the Federation which are recorded in the statute have not lost their timeliness despite the passing of time. The priorities formulated in 1945, such as the struggle for peace, disarmament, cooperation and understanding between nations; for the right to independent growth; the struggle against all forms of aggression and exploitation, against racism and discrimination; the protection of human rights or solidarity in the common struggle for national independence are, unfortunately, still live issues.

The growing number of WFDY member organizations as well as WFDY's increasing influence and significance, especially in Latin American countries and Africa, attest to the fact that the Federation is growing. Already two-thirds of all member organizations are from developing countries. A sign of constant WFDY development is the increasingly more active participation of youth and its growing role in the socio-political life of all continents. The degree of the Federation's activity depends, after all, on the work of member organizations, on their contacts, assumed courses of action and mutual programs and undertakings. In the meantime, the current of organizational life is moving at an exceptionally rapid pace both in Europe as well as in developing countries.

OLSZTYN PARTY PLENUM HELD

Plenum Meeting on Agriculture

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 27 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy J. Pantak and Roman Sensmecki]

[Text] Yesterday [26 April 1982] the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn considered the ways and means of increasing agricultural output. The deliberations, which were chaired by the first secretary of the PZPR [Olsztyn] Voivodship Committee, Jan Laskowski, were attended by: deputy member of the Political Bureau, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyzczak; director of the Department of Agriculture and Food Management, PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Zieba; the Olsztyn governor [Voivode], Sergiusz Rubczewski; the plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee (KOK), Col (academy graduate) Henryk Swiecicki; and the chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn, Wincenty Stelmaczek. A large group of ZSL activists and directors of the plants and institutions working for agriculture was also invited. The opening address was delivered by secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Zygmunt Kruk. (See text on p 3 of this newspaper.) [See below]

The first discussant, Tadeusz Krawiecki, a farmer from Waplewo, declared, "We have been discussing for nearly a year how to improve agriculture but actual changes have been very few. The lands managed by the PFZ [State Land Fund] have decreased a little in area but many still remain in forests. These fields are grazed by wild game and farmers are not eager to buy such lands. Are they to be cultivated in order to benefit from compensation payments? The excessive herds of wild game should at once be culled--this is the universal desire of my neighbors and farmers from the adjacent villages in the gmina. The regulations governing the relinquishment of farms by their owners in return for old-age pensions were improperly written and need to be revised. Persons who spent their lives working on land, the elderly, did indeed give up their lands but they continue to occupy not only large houses but also extensive framsteads. The candidates for taking

over their farms may receive land but without the necessary buildings. How are they to farm? New farmsteads should be built for them on easy, long-range terms. The scheduling of contractual procurements of grain and livestock is incorrect. In our region harvests sometimes begin in July and end in August; sometimes they last until September. Why should farmers be obligated to deliver grain in August? The 10 percent coupons [entitling farmers to exchange for agricultural machinery and implements 10 percent of their income from food deliveries] should be made good for deliveries until 15 October. Anyone who is still late in delivering by then, it will be his fault; no honest farmer will be late."

The Sejm deputy, director of the PGR [State Farm] in Dylewo, Ryszard Gwizdala, declared, "I believe that we urgently need a plan for the short-term development of agriculture, since so far we have been merely analyzing the present situation. The socio-political climate in agriculture is also important. Agriculture is too often judged superficially, by random criteria, in order to demonstrate that socialized farms are supposedly worse [than private farms]. And yet there is one concrete and universal yardstick: net marketable output per adjusted hectare. The countryside still does not receive its due from the remainder of society, which discourages it from working. This is demonstrated by elementary examples of restrictions in allotments of, say, bread and energy and in the provision of communal services."

"At PGR's the economic reform has been in effect for 10 months but many postulates have not yet been implemented and the existing economic-financial system is not being mobilized to increase agricultural output. At Dylewo, for example, this system has resulted in reducing, among other things, the livestock herd and calculating the maximum profits that can be earned from distillery operations." At that instant, Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak could not restrain himself and asked who then would be producing something for "zagryzka" [in Russian, "zakuski"--appetizers to accompany liquor].

Gwizdala answered that other criteria mobilizing production must be considered and named scientists as the executors of this postulate. In his opinion, the profit criterion distorts the purpose of the reform in agricultural enterprises.

First secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Zalewo, Comrade Dynarski declared that many meetings, encounters and talks with farmers were held on the topic of expediting contractual deliveries and improving the utilization of land so as to utilize every inch of soil properly. The regulations are not producing the expected results. The permanence of land ownership and of private farms has been established but is that supposed to be a protective shield for do-nothings? Some persons inheriting perfectly good farms ruin them completely. They not only eat up the livestock inventory but also dismantle buildings. Some keep drinking instead of going out into fields and working. About 100 farms in the gmina have a per-hectare income of not more than 5,000 zlotys. There are also farms that have been deserted by their owners 10 years ago. Landowners attempt to lease their land at high prices; if they find no willing tenants, they let the lands

lie fallow. Eighty-six farmsteads cannot be used because they are inhabited by old-age pensioners. In the gmina there are three tractors per 100 hectares and yet farmers buy new tractors only to sell them at considerable profit in other voivodships....

The first secretary of the Voivodship Committee asked, "Aren't we complaining about ourselves? After all, farmers purchase equipment upon permission by the administrators, and it is the administrators who decide to whom to issue permits."

The comments by the director of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] office in Olsztyn, Edward Tomkiewicz, who discussed the findings of the inspection of preparations for field operations, indicate that flaws still exist in the permanent management and cultivation of land. This is due to the carelessness of farmers (both private and socialized) as well as to shortcomings in the work of gmina offices, cooperative banks, offices of notaries public, and geodesic services. Among other things, the land-sale schedules are protracted, a great deal of land is extensively instead of intensively farmed and many farms do not raise livestock (last year they numbered 11,000 or one-third). We do need more resources but we are wasting many available resources. Fertilizers continue to be applied "by eye" regardless of soil capacity; many crops are wasted owing to poor storage; e.g., grain at the Barczewo and Ostroda PGRs and Platyny RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperative]. The storage facilities of PZZ [State Grain Elevators] are not being utilized either. Tomkiewicz stressed that much of the neglect could have been avoided had the people providing agricultural services and working in agricultural enterprises shown greater commitment. PZPR and ZSL members should serve as exemplars of good work.

In the opinion of Jan Szwed from Bartoszyce Gmina, extra fees should not be charged for machinery[-leasing] services but should be charged for purchases of machinery, regardless of whether the purchase is made by a private farmer or a socialized enterprise. The price levels should be adapted to the financial possibilities of the purchasers. Considering that our region's agroclimate is clearly handicapped in comparison with the western and southern parts of the country, which condemns agriculture to smaller harvests, the state should provide appropriate compensation for farming under such conditions. Young people are leaving the farms, because they are not satisfied with the social, living and economic conditions. Is this a proof of economic weakness? When the SKR [Agricultural Circle Cooperative] announced a sale of unneeded machinery, it was bought up by farmers from the Poznan and Bydgoszcz Voivodships, because they could afford it more than did the Bartoszyce residents. Land reclamation as well as water supply in Bartoszyce Gmina also is inadequate. It is not good when bread costs less than grain, so that it pays to feed it to livestock. It is fatal that GS [gmina warehouse] sells mineral fertilizers only to those who contract to deliver grain to the state. What happens to farmers specializing in milk production, who base feeding their cows on fertilizer-intensive grazing lands? Are they to be bankrupt? In the countryside too many agronomists work, each specializing in contracting for the delivery of a different crop. Could not all this be attended to by just one expert? This is the reason for the problems with agricultural service.

The chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, Wincenty Stelmaczek, drew attention to the great importance of cooperation between both parties, which is a practical expression of the worker-peasant alliance. "We share the same problems and we believe that in this voivodship we can solve some of them jointly with our own resources. These problems include the need to investigate why land reclamation is not producing the expected results; restriction of the extent of damage caused by wild game; permanent utilization of the greater part of PFZ lands; and increased services to the countryside and agriculture."

Edmund Michalski, member of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee and director of the Lubawa PGR, declared that the materials submitted to the participants in the session were deficient because no program for the agriculture of our region has been prepared for the next few years. Such a program should be resolved by the Voivodship Committee upon consultation with the countryside. A considerable say in that program should be given to party, PGR and rural organizations as well as to those acting under the agricultural institutions. The latter should, as formerly, provide patronage to rural organizations and be in daily contact with them. This good practice has unfortunately been abandoned. It is difficult to conceive a profitable agriculture if equipment--of which there is still not enough for needs--remains so badly utilized, maintained, repaired and devastated. The discussant agreed that more grain should be planted at the expense of other, less needed crops. It is not good that deliveries of fertilizers, especially nitrogen fertilizers, continue to run behind schedule, because they are needed for winter crops. It was announced on television that a fertilizer factory had to suspend production because there was no storage. Deputy Minister Burczak stated that it was the fault of the railroads. But what do farmers care when the administrations cannot function efficiently? Comrade Michalski also criticized the District Station for Animal Husbandry (OSHZ) for charging excessive fees for inspecting the usefulness of livestock. The Lubawa PGR has to pay nearly 900,000 zlotys in these fees, but even so the breeding livestock later turns out to be of poor quality.

Ryszard Psikus, the director of the Ketrzyn Sugar Factory, expressed anxiety about the curtailment of sugar beet growing by PGR's and RSP's. In 1975 this crop was grown on more than 5,000 hectares of PGR lands but this year it is grown on barely more than 2,200 hectares. On the other hand, the private farms have reached the peak of their technical possibilities in this respect, under the present conditions, with the average farm growing sugar beets on slightly more than 1 hectare. As a result the output of the Ketrzyn Sugar Factory does not meet the voivodship's demand; the missing quantities have to be brought in from the neighboring voivodships. Soon this possibility will be exhausted, because a new sugar factory will start operating. It is incomprehensible why manuring lime, which is rich in trace elements, finds no purchasers and remains stored in the sugar factory, although all analyses point to the depletion and acidification of our soils. To promote the cultivation and procurements of beets, the sugar factory is reactivating its agrotechnical service.

Stanislaw Ciostek, chairman of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] Voivodship Board, declared, "Two-thirds of the membership of our organization live or work in the countryside or are studying agriculture and are linked to agriculture by the occupations of their parents. From this ensues the political validity of our presence in the countryside. We are not only the continuators of [the former] ZSMW [Socialist Rural Youth Union] but also have contributed many new original initiatives, ideas, and measures to this community to enable young people to gain knowledge and set up their own workshops, as well as to organize recreation and cultural entertainment. Young people have, unfortunately, considerable difficulty in making a start in work and life. Graduates of technical and higher schools still do not receive pay raises and have a long wait for housing. The managements of certain PGR's place incomprehensible obstacles before us when we try to organize meetings of trainees. Despite the extensive system of assistance for young private farmers, they receive low priority when applying for land, equipment, and building materials. Our organization too often must intervene in explicit matters, which points to the weakness of the gmina administration and institutions providing agricultural services."

Prof Dr habilitatus Czeslaw Szafranek of the Agricultural-Technical Academy (ART) pointed to the need to improve agricultural administration in the gminas and to consult scientists. Many problems have been solved but neither the enterprises nor the administration utilize these solutions; for example, the modern brigade work system on PGR's is still awaiting introduction. Szafranek proposed establishing in some gminas consultative councils consisting of experienced practitioners as well as scientists.

The OSHZ director, Henryk Zieciak, discussed the reasons for the low unit productivity of livestock, which generally results in shortages of meat and milk. This is the price for past mistakes--for the construction of excessively large farms; for feeding expensive grain feeds to livestock; for excessive culling of cows even before they reached their optimal milk-yield age; for abandonment of feeding potatoes, sugar beets, alfalfa, etc., to livestock. The planning of the livestock population should cease being based on wishful thinking and should instead be based on fodder, technical and genetic-value possibilities. But the population of pedigreed livestock may not be allowed to diminish and its profitability should be assured. In reply to Comrade Michalski from Lubawa, Zieciak stated that admittedly the fee for verifying the usefulness of cows has indeed been increased to 600 zlotys per head and of gilts, to 2,200 zlotys per head; actually a fee is the equivalent of two days' milk yield from the dairy cow checked or one piglet of the litter produced by the gilt checked. These fees assure the financial autonomy of the station.

Docent Dr Zgibniew Wrzesniowski of ART dealt with the postulate for drafting a program for agricultural development. He pointed to the need to change the approach. Several such programs had been drafted, but always without specifying targets for agriculture and with minimizing the needs of agriculture for fulfilling its task. He stated that even knowledge of just a few assumptions as to the magnitude of the deliveries and prices of means of production can suffice to draft a long-range program. Wrzesniowski pointed

out that our natural conditions should be better exploited by fostering cattle-raising and thereby better utilizing meadowlands. Increasing the area planted with grain should be treated with caution. The speaker also pointed to problems in selecting candidates for studies, which ensue from the desire to study in general rather than from the desire to become a farmer. ART has encountered difficulties in finding on-the-job placement opportunities for its students, which means that they cannot get a good practical job preparation.

Jerzy Dowgwillowicz, member of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee and chairman of the RSP in Tyrow, declared, "There is no sense in preparing a program for agricultural development until there is a credible program for industry's production for the sake of agriculture. Without such a program no commission can accomplish more than we producers who want to make agriculture highly profitable. How can we accomplish our goals if, for example, I have to shut down my "cyklop" manurer for two days because no oil for changing is available. Industry cannot manufacture drill seeders that either...break in half or improperly seed grain uphill. Meadowlands serve to feed cattle best and most cheaply. But their reclamation is endangered due to mistakes in planning and execution. The gmina cooperated with ART but did not profit from any suggestions or proposals by the scientists. It did not bother to draft measures for developing the valley of the Drweca River.

Antoni Mackiewicz, member of the ZSL Supreme Committee, farmer from Kraszewo, expressed anxiety because the draft of the resolution mentioned a need to subsidize PGR's. He thought that these state farms always have had, have and will have a higher production cost. "We don't yet know what happens but a lot will depend on the manner in which the reform is implemented. Losses must be reduced and cost must be cut in order to work more effectively. The price ratios between grain procurements and means of production also should be improved. An important problem is to form rural trade unions; those authorized to fulfill this role are the gmina associations of agricultural circles and organizations. What is only needed is to divided the circle organization consistently, from the lowest to the highest echelons, into two organisms--the trade-union organism and the economic organism."

Zbigniew Huss, member of the Central Committee, appealed for an end to complaining and for rolling up the sleeves to work. For example, there are complaints about the economic reform. At the same time, many enterprise managers and entire work forces praise the reform, because it has opened up for them a broad field of activity. Thinking and calculations are needed, but not such thinking as, for example, that cattle- and hog-raising are unprofitable to us and therefore we should distill alcohol, since it is more profitable. Let there be no illusions that we will soon have a self-sufficient agriculture. This is impossible in view of the general state of the nation's economy and the regional climate possibilities. We cannot achieve self-sufficiency in every domain of agriculture. Output should be increased but primarily by increasing output per hectare. This is the fundamental duty. Agriculture policies should be stable and consistent.

Next, Comrade Huss declared that as a worker he is appalled by the manner in which farmers and mechanizers neglect machinery. He stated that his personal observations confirm fully the results of the inspections conducted by the military operating teams. Since it is being said that every inch of land should be properly utilized, by the same token every agricultural machine and implement should also be properly utilized.

Tadeusz Zatorski from Ketrzyn drew attention to the considerable potential of agricultural and food management. This potential exists both in the planning of land reclamation and in the programming of agricultural development, in crop rotation and in crop utilization. This is exemplified by the needless transportation and losses of slaughter livestock and meat, in large quantities, to Morliny and back, even though in the region of Ketrzyn are several well-equipped small slaughter plants as well as a large, modern meat and vegetable-canning plant.

The gist of the speech by the Olsztyn Deputy Governor [Voivode] Stanislaw Piotrkowski was that it is time to stop dividing agriculture into two different sectors. Studies performed by military team inspectors demonstrate that both sectors commit the same sins. Next, the discussants described the orientation of activity of the voivodship office and gmina offices intended to restore the health of agriculture, which will be presented at today's session of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council]. Afterward, Comrade Piotrkowski answered questions raised during the discussion. He stated that bargaining is being done in conformance with regulations. The management and self-governments of the enterprises getting rid of dispensable machinery may depart from this principle and sell it to the most needy farmers.

The chairman of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (WZSR) in Olsztyn, Bogdan Snopek, explained certain aspects of contracting for and selling fertilizers. He stated that there are no restrictions on sales of fertilizers to those who do not contract to deliver grain and that the bonus schedules for contractual deliveries of livestock are adjusted to three successive cattle drives. The farmer himself decides on the main delivery deadline but he may deliver livestock in an earlier or a later drive and will still receive the maximum payment. He also declared that the machinery depot in Ostroda accepts for reclamation the storage batteries of agricultural tractors.

Stanislaw Zieba, the director of the Department of Agriculture and Food Management under the PZPR Central Committee, pointed out that work is now our greatest asset. Thus the decline in labor productivity in agriculture as well must be stopped. Our activities will be assessed in the light of the reform; as for what is to be done, we know that from the numerous party documents, beginning with the resolution of the ninth congress and ending with the resolutions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau as well as of the ZSL Supreme Committee concerning a common agricultural policy. What is needed is only greater familiarity with these resolutions and such action that would promote the unity of agriculture and enhance its effectiveness. Not only the best farmers but also the laggards should be obligated to utilize land. Neither fertilization with manure nor

agrotechnology nor crop rotation may be neglected. Owing to the mistakes made for many years, we have caused the quality of soils to deteriorate. It is intolerable that the price of PFZ lands is lower than the free-market price but those lands are being utilized negligently and the offices of notaries public as well as banks are slow to complete official transfers of land ownership in perpetuity.

Land reclamation should be the principal aspect of the investment program but land use should not be neglected. It is being poorly implemented by water partnerships, but then they lack the funds for it. S. Zieba warned against dividing agriculture into poor PGR's and good peasant-owned farms. The division should be different: there are good PGR's and privately owned farms, and there are bad PGR's and privately owned farms. The performance of the Olsztyn Voivodship, measured in terms of grain units produced, indicates that there is still a considerable potential in this voivodship, because too many farms are not producing much grain. The speaker also stressed that the ratio between crop prices and the prices of means of production is not as bad as the farmers claim, since the parity of their incomes continues to be more favorable in comparison with the incomes of employees of the socialized sector. Socialized agriculture sustains losses owing to poor utilization of means of production, while private farms sustain losses owing to inadequate performance of agricultural and planting services. It is thus necessary to act so as to improve these fields. The contracting drive, too, requires honesty from both parties and must be advantageous to both--but this depends on the individual.

The Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak informed those present about the party's activities in rescuing the country from the crisis. He drew attention to various aspects of the ongoing ideological and economic struggle and to the threat ensuing from the West's diversionary centers and the domestic sowers of unrest. Their activities have placed a large part of the public in the condition of uncertainty and apathy; hence actions to invigorate production are needed. We should no longer live on credit. We all must pass through the crisis: it cannot be avoided. Surmounting the crisis will be facilitated by a consistently introduced and seriously taken reform. We must have modest but realistic plans. We must make plain to people the necessity of giving up many dreams and needs. The first effects of the reform are already apparent, especially in the domains of raw materials and energy; they should be broadened. This can be done only by active and adaptable individuals.

The cadre policy will be rationalized. People will be evaluated regardless of their membership in the party, according to the five criteria: eligibility for promotion; satisfactory job performance; ineligibility for the post occupied but eligibility for another equivalent position according to one's qualifications; need to demote; and need to dismiss. Such a policy, which means that we will support competent nonparty members as well as members of allied parties, will produce for us many sympathizers and gain public support.

Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, drew attention in his closing remarks to the fundamental mistake made by many economic activists who view the reform as the cause of the problems. "It is the crisis that is producing problems; the reform is supposed to resolve these problems. Farmers and the enterprises serving them should understand this as soon as possible, because in food management much depends on the weather but more still on people. The problems of the countryside and agriculture should also be viewed from the class-oriented standpoint. After all a farmer who owns 40 hectares has interests differing from those of a farmer owning 6 hectares. In the countryside, too, an acute struggle is underway and we should consider this in our actions."

The plenum adopted a 16-point resolution by a voice majority of votes, with only one vote against (74 percent of Voivodship Committee members were present). The resolution is comprehensive and specific. We shall discuss it in a separate article.

With respect to organizational problems, the plenum accepted the resignation of Roman Swiatkowski from the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee. He was replaced by Kazimierz Jakubiak, senior foreman from OZOS [expansion unknown], who was elected by secret ballot.

In connection with his exclusion from the party ranks by the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee], Jan Runiewski was recalled from the Voivodship Committee. The following new Voivodship Committee members, both previously deputy members, were elected: Danuta Ossowska and Michal Chodorowski. The resignation of Ireneusz Chojnacki from deputy membership in the Voivodship was accepted.

In connection with his appointment to the post of Olsztyn Deputy Voivode, Stanislaw Piotrkowski was recalled from the position of director of the Socioagricultural Department of the Voivodship Committee. In connection with his retirement due to the age limit, Edmund Pawlowski was recalled from the position of director of the Department of Science, Education and Culture.

The appointment of Andrzej Gajewski, the previous director of the Socio-Economic Department of the Voivodship Committee, to the position of director of the Committee's General Department was approved. The appointment of the following to the positions of directors of Voivodship Committee departments was approved: Tadeusz Plocha, director of the Office of the First Secretary; Leszek Stankiewicz, director of the Department of Science, Education and Culture; Roman Hryciuk, director of the Socio-Economic Department; and Grzegorz Nowicki, director of the Socioagricultural Department. Two problem commissions of the Voivodship Committee were appointed: one for youth and the other for women.

The Voivodship Committee Secretary Andrzej Weselak reported changes in the composition of the voivodship party organization.

Report on Agricultural Economy

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 27 Arp 82 p 3

[Speech by secretary of the PZPR Olsztyn Voivodship Committee, Zygmunt Kruk]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the members of the party echelon received reports on the situation of agricultural production in our voivodship. I will thus confine myself to the problems affecting that production most.

The basic issue is proper land management. The voivodship's croplands total more than 693,000 hectares, of which as much as 83,000 hectares belong to the PFZ [State Land Fund]. This is about 12 percent of the land in the voivodship or 10 percent of total PFZ land nationwide. In view of the lack of stability in its utilization, this PFZ land is not being fully utilized.

This problem was considered by the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee last February. The implementation of its conclusions will contribute to a more rapid and permanent disposition of PFZ lands and thereby also their better utilization. The enterprises of the voivodship authorities mesh their efforts with those of the central authorities. Practical guarantees of the permanence of private land ownership in the socioeconomic development of the Polish People's Republic have been adopted as expressed in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and Seventh ZSL Congress.

Legal guarantees of the permanence of private land ownership have been provided. The Sejm adopted far-reaching decrees on protecting cropland and forested land, on integrating land, on updating the Civil Code and on voiding the decree on the regulation of farm ownership. The first of these decrees tightens markedly the criteria for disposing of agricultural lands. The second decree, pertaining to land integration, gives priority of production rather than to individual sectors [socialized or private agriculture]. The subsequent two decrees provide the highest guarantee of the legal equality and inviolability of privately owned farms and of the possibility of freely disposing of their ownership.

Within the voivodship this policy appears to produce obvious results. Socialized farms have curtailed their incorporation of PFZ lands deriving from private farms. The process of decline in land owned by private farmers has been halted. The demand for land has increased. During the first quarter of this year, 3,700 hectares of land were sold compared with just 1,600 hectares in a like period last year. Sales of land to farmers should be further expanded so as to transfer in perpetuity to the private sector at least 15,000 hectares of land by the end of 1982.

Another favorable effect has been the decrease in land transferred to PFZ by private owners due to retirement and eligibility for old-age pension. During the first quarter of this year, 87 farms were taken over by PFZ for this reason, compared with 140 in a like period last year. Farms are also being bequeathed to heirs. This is advantageous, since it assures continuity of the production cycle and stabilization of land management.

Despite the positive developments in land management, recent inspections, especially by military operational teams and the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control], point to many continued irregularities. Certain gminas lack current programs for utilizing PFZ lands. Some gminas--such as Grunwald, Wielbark and Gietrzwald--still are not taking effective steps to sell PFZ lands. In still others, the specified level of sales is too low in relation to the state of PFZ and implementation so far.

These shortcomings indicate that last February's conclusions of the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee must be rapidly implemented, primarily as regards:

- preparing a detailed plan for the utilization of the "free land" in discrete villages, determining the scale of the problem in various regions of the voivodship, and streamlining and expediting with special urgency the sale of land to interested buyers;

- maximally utilizing all buildings and livestock facilities on vacant farms, primarily for agriculture;

- appointing a commission for investigating the utilization of farmland by various employees of the socialized economy who, as a rule, live in cities; and

- obligating the governor [voivode] to obtain farmland in the environs of cities and gmina villages in order to allot it for private land plots of workers, meeting the related needs of the voivodship inhabitants.

Members of the Agricultural Commission and employees of the Socioagricultural Department of the Voivodship Committee will participate in monitoring the implementation of these conclusions.

It is necessary to utilize the national wealth represented by land properly. In this matter our tasks are the greatest, in both agricultural sectors. Soils in the same quality category and often in the same village produce greatly differing yields. Hundreds of hectares of not only PFZ land are yielding extremely poor harvests. This must raise the question of how to deal with such inefficient farmers, how to force them to utilize land properly, since land is our common good. The recent Sejm decrees as well as regulations ensuing from the decree of 26 October 1971, concerning the conservation of cropland and forested areas, make effective action possible in this respect.

The voivodship office and all gminas should urgently carry out inspection of the agricultural utilization of cropland and deduce the proper conclusions regarding inefficient users. In special instances land should be put to use, with the cost to be charged to the owner or leasee. Farmers who make poor use of their land, do not sign delivery contracts and do not sell produce to the state should be curtailed or even barred from allotments of means of production.

Gmina chiefs will prepare by the end of May lists of farmers who do not carry out their obligations; in the case of farmers who hold nonagricultural jobs, they will inform the plants employing such farmers. Labor establishments must use that information for the necessary personnel shifts.

On socialized farms any poor utilization of land requires appropriate administrative repercussion, up to and including the dismissal of management.

The appraisal of land utilization must be performed and ultimately determined by village meetings. The farmers themselves know best how good a farmer their neighbor is. Such appraisals will not overlook an inch of land.

In the current economic situation of the country, given the lack of opportunities for importing grain, it is necessary to alter at once the structure of sowing. The cardinal goal also is to determine a structure to meet fully the fodder demand for livestock as well as to purchase specific quantities of grain, potatoes, sugar beets, rapeseed and other crops needed to feed the nation and meet the demands of the agricultural processing industry.

It is a highly important matter to increase the area of land under grain cultivation. The limitations on imports, at present and in the future, dictate this necessity. In Poland the technology of growing and harvesting grain is more advanced than that of any other crop and concentration on it can result in substantial progress. The equipment available for this crop also is better than for other crops. The first step in this direction was made last year when winter grain crops were planted on the right agrotechnical schedule and in favorable weather. Winter grain has been planted on 95,000 hectares, or 22,000 hectares more than last year.

The economic and production results will be decided by the quantity and quality of domestic fodder resources. The principal factor thus will be an efficient utilization of pastureland, which represents a low-cost source of bulk fodder and which at the same time can facilitate increasing the output of industrial crops on arable land.

The weather last winter and spring was such that winter crops survived in good condition. The losses, ranging at 2 percent for grain and 10 percent for rapeseed, are considered normal. It was possible to start spring field work earlier, which contributes to better utilization, repairing of omissions and better utilization of equipment. Despite the numerous problems with seed material, ultimately all farmers needing seed grain were able to purchase it.

Similarly, the demand for seed potatoes will be met from domestic resources. This is due to energetic action by the authorities and supervisory agencies, especially in expediting the preparation of seed materials and restricting the use of seed grain for fodder purposes. The supply of seed material for certain fodder crops (alfalfa, bird's-foot, lupine) has not improved satisfactorily and substitutes must be used.

A difficult situation is in the offing for the supply of means of production. The fertilizer plan for 1982 harvests provides for 183 kg of nitrogen-potassium-phosphorus (NPK) fertilizers per hectare of cropland. At the end of March the plan for deliveries of mineral fertilizers was fulfilled by 65 percent for nitrogen, 70 percent for phosphorus and 90 percent for potassium. The existing inventories and allotments of plant protectants will meet 42 percent of the demand for insecticides, 42 percent of the demand for weed killers and 56 percent of the demand for fungicides.

The degree of readiness of agricultural equipment for the spring season is lower than last year. This is due to a lack of spare parts and tires. Current deliveries will partially alleviate this shortage. But there are prolonged stoppages of machinery and equipment. The deliveries of potato planters and manure spreaders remain slow. On the other hand, the deliveries of tractors, especially of the lighter types, have been satisfactory. These shortcomings will undoubtedly affect the production level.

In such a situation, the instances of waste, neglect and simple slovenliness in the utilization of these resources that have been detected by inspections are unforgivable. Socialized farms do not utilize soil capacity maps. Improper storage has caused many evident losses. On many socialized farms the shelf life of plant protectants has been allowed to expire. Some socialized farms have excessive supplies of these protectants, while others are undersupplied.

Early in this quarter, there occurred considerable difficulties in supplying fuel, oils and lubricants to farms. This situation still persists. To assure continuity of operation in agriculture, the governor will assign priority to deliveries of liquid fuels and oils to farms, even at the expense of other customers.

Private farmers expect efficient production services. The chief organizer of these services is the agricultural circle cooperatives (SKR). In the past the SKR have been repeatedly criticized for the deficient quality, promptness and completeness of their services. The most important tasks of the SKR are:

- improving the organization and quality of services so that they could be as low-cost as possible while at the same time assuring financial autonomy of the farms;
- thrifty management, analysis of planned and implemented production cost;
- strengthening of self-government at organizations;
- reducing to a minimum the services provided to nonagricultural units;
- active support and promotion of the activities or circles of rural housewives; and
- provision of various minor blacksmithing, locksmithing, carpentering and other services.

SKR services should display more activity in assuming contacts with farmers.

The economic reform has introduced new financial principles for enterprises, and new investment principles as well. Now investment-implementing decisions are made by the enterprises themselves. They are financed from the development fund and from reimbursable bank loans. The only state subsidies that they continue to receive are for housing construction. In view of this, the voivodship's investment plan concerns budget subsidies estimated at 464 million zlotys for 1982.

These modest funds are distributed as follows:

--252 million zlotys for land reclamation;

--21 million zlotys for agricultural water supply; and

--109 million zlotys for cubic-space and other construction.

These outlays are to be spent on:

--Reclamation of 5,500 hectares of land.

--Regulation of 31 km of rivers and canals.

--Construction of six rural pipeline water supply systems with a network of 53 km in overall length, to which 654 farms will be linked. In addition, power supply conditions on 345 farms will be improved.

The concentration of effort on these directions will serve to implement the following tasks as compared with the previous year:

--Land reclamation will be more than doubled in area.

--Water supply to farms will be nearly doubled.

In addition to these investment outlays, public funds amounting to 7.5 million zlotys will be committed to building rural water supply lines in the villages of Maldyty-Lesnica, Kurki and Mierki.

So far the question of credits for housing investments on PGR's has not been resolved; under the regulations in force this housing can be financed from subsidies. Despite repeated admonitions, the ministry still has not determined the amount of these subsidies.

Despite the increases in the prices of industrial goods, the demand for agricultural machinery and implements remains great. This points to the developmental tendencies of farms. Compared with last year's deliveries, the allotments of machinery and implements for 1982 are as follows: we received 525 fewer tractors, 217 fewer tractor trailers and 114 fewer combine harvesters. On the other hand we received 25 more manure spreaders, 207 more lime and fertilizer spreaders, 327 more spreader-rakes and 56 more sheafbinders.

The current deliveries of tractors, especially the lighter types, are being satisfactorily implemented. On the other hand, the deliveries of tractor-drawn sheafbinders, spreader-rakes, seeders and self-propelled chaff cutters have been extremely inadequate.

During the period of persistently limited deliveries of agricultural equipment, it is extremely important to maintain the available equipment properly. Thus, a special task faces the state machine centers, the GROMA (Agricultural Equipment Trade Enterprise) and the technical facilities of socialized farms.

Not unimportant also are the proper operation and maintenance of machinery and implements by users. Inspections have revealed horrendous neglect, pointing to poor treatment of equipment in our agriculture. There will never be enough spare parts, tires and storage batteries so long as their maintenance remains at the present level. Agricultural mechanizers face a tremendous task. The agrotechnics, cultivation and harvesting of crops depend on them. The following are obligatory and henceforth indispensable: daily instruction, training and thorough supervision of mechanics and tractor operators.

It is necessary to consider introducing material incentives for tractor operators, such as being provided in transport. It is possible to introduce bonuses for fuel savings, tire and storage-battery maintenance, and number of engine operating hours or efficiency of allotted accessories and implements. These incentives, if skillfully applied, should pay off not only economically but in terms of production. The most important thing, though, is to imbue people with the conviction that good work will pay off.

Our grain procurements from the 1981 harvest totaled 62,000 tons; barely 57 percent of the planned amount. In livestock procurements the trend is downward, too, chiefly owing to the decline of production in the socialized sector. Milk procurements also are lower--3.8 percent less than in the first quarter of the preceding year.

Judging from the results of the contracting drive so far, procurements of agricultural products will not be satisfactory. For example, the delivery contracts for the first 6 months of this year with respect to the meat- and bacon-hogs amount to 76,000 head; i.e., 5 percent less than last year. Only the cattle delivery contracts are higher--by 3.5 percent.

The results are, despite the coming end of the period for concluding contracts for the cultivation and delivery, as follows with respect to the following crops:

--grain, 35 percent of the plan;

--sugar beets, 74 percent of the plan;

--edible spring potatoes, 75 percent and late potatoes, 46 percent.

The poor results of the contracting drive point unambiguously to the necessity of introducing universal procurements of agricultural produce, to be linked to the supplies of the principal means of production. The guiding idea of the new contracting system is to include all farms regardless of size and sector, whether private or socialized. The procurement agencies will be obligated to provide farmers with the basic means of production, production services and expert advice. One of the principal elements of the proposed contracting system is linking the sales of certain basic means of production to the sales of agricultural products under the delivery contract.

Farmers who do not conclude contracts will be unable to acquire appropriate means of production. Mineral fertilizers as a basic means of agricultural production would be sold only as linked to contracts for and procurements of crop and livestock products.

Until the new principles of contracting are introduced, the raw materials services of the agricultural and food-processing industry should, in close cooperation with the unions and associations of farmers, act more effectively. The old principle that contracting services are for producers and not vice versa must be restored.

Olsztyn's agriculture is capable of coping with its tasks under the complex conditions. This is assured by the large numbers of experienced engineers, technicians and work forces of the agricultural enterprises, as well as by the ever industrious and self-sacrificing private farmers.

At present what matters is adapting skills and experience to the new conditions of the economy, under which the old pattern of management based on forcing the pace of production regardless of cost is no longer operative. Competence, order and cost-effective thinking must come to the fore. Whoever fails to understand this will not achieve appropriate results and must depart. This is already happening in our voivodship.

A marked improvement must occur in the performance of all services working for agriculture. Criticisms of the performance of these services must produce substantial results. We hope that the verification and reorganization of the agricultural service will improve the situation.

Agricultural service employees must be present in the countryside regardless of where their paychecks come.

The voivodship office gives priority to coordinating and directing the activities of all agricultural services.

Tangible help should be provided to Olsztyn's agriculture by the scientists from the Agricultural and Technical Academy. So far, the practical ties of that academy have been rather sporadic. They do not satisfy the growing demand of practice for solutions of problems of organizational, production and economic progress. Some initiatives and measures to improve the existing situation have already been undertaken but they should be more consistent and broader. Many topics can and should be jointly worked on [by scientists

and practitioners], for example, the utilization of vacant facilities for fattening poultry without corn and soy beans or the development of the proper directions of the training of students in accordance with the needs of the times. The slogan "Science should be practical and practice scientific" is yet to be translated into reality.

In agriculture and in the countryside basic party organizations operate; these, in alliance with the United Peasant Party, represent the fundamental political force. Their commitment will largely affect the fulfillment by agriculture of its tasks.

In the Olsztyn countryside we have 4,264 party members. Following August 1980 they found themselves under strong pressure by the rural community. They were blamed for all the mistakes made by the party leadership in the 1970's. The criticism especially focused on the mistakes in agricultural policies, particularly on the deficient supplies to agriculture and the countryside. This resulted in weakening the activity of a large part of rural POP [basic party organizations]. Discussions at their meetings reduced in principle to criticism of the party leadership and aspects of the settlement of accounts. Guardianship by gmina party committees and the voivodship committee also had weakened.

Party activities on the PGR's were in better shape. The active party organizations had resisted the destructive forces much more strongly. On the other hand, party organizations within the agricultural producer cooperatives, especially those weaker economically and organizationally, left something to be desired. Owing to the sociopolitical situation that then arose along with negative opinions and pressures, some party members decided to resign from the party while others were, for various reasons, expelled from the party's ranks. The principal cause for the surrender of party cards by farmers was the undermining of confidence in the party's policy and the failure of gmina and voivodship authorities to resolve important problems.

Following [the introduction of martial law on] 13 December [1981], a gradual revival of activities of the party in the countryside has been observed. But the work of the rural POP's continues to be weak. The activation of the party and its recovery of the leading role require resolute and effective action. To enhance the effects of sociopolitical activities, Regional Party Work Centers (ROPP) have been established. Their purpose is to coordinate measures and assist the gminas in programming and conducting political work.

An important element of political work in the countryside is changing the form and content of the cooperation between the party and the United Peasant Party (ZSL) in carrying out agricultural policy. A positive example of this may be the joint sessions of the gmina party echelons and the ZSL. Such actions strengthen and consolidate the aktiv of both parties and contribute to winning over for joint work the best farmers, who possess considerable authority in the rural community.

If we were to evaluate the sociopolitical situation in the countryside on the basis of spring field operations, the results would be pronounced good. Despite definite problems we have carried out grain planting, while the seeding of potatoes and planting of sugar beets are considerably advanced. We are utilizing land better. This advantage provides a good forecast for a better year in agriculture.

I wish from this podium to thank all the farmers, agricultural workers and agricultural service employees for a good harvest start.

The joint session of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL last January confirmed the necessity to take measures to:

- improve the supply of industrial means of production for agriculture as well as the continuity of that supply and markedly increase the supply of goods for agriculture as a whole;

- introduce universal contract deliveries, with the procurements to be handled by the raw materials services of industry and the procurement organizations in close cooperation with the unions and associations of farmers;

- implement consistently the principle of a permanent profitability of agricultural production; i.e., introduce creeping prices for agricultural produce and maintain at least equivalent parity between incomes of agricultural and nonagricultural population;

- adopt a program for the development of agriculture and food management until 1985 and assure the conditions for its fulfillment by assuring adequate supplies of means of production;

- concentrate the organizational-technical potential on land-reclamation operations and supplies as well as on the water supply of agriculture and the countryside;

- combine the efforts of the Sejm deputies' clubs of both parties to have the Sejm vote upon a new decree on social security for private farmers;

- undertake work to prepare and subsequently to verify a new taxation system, which should restore economic functions to taxes and allow for differentiated tax rates for soils of differing quality categories and farms of differing size and which also should intensify production by adjusting farm income to actual contribution of labor.

Our task is to support and carry out these measures of the party leadership in our voivodship--in the interest of both producers and society as a whole.

Comrades, on 16 April there was a central session devoted to discussing the results of the inspection conducted by the local military operating teams and the Supreme Chamber of Control regarding the preparations for spring

field operations in agriculture. The session also adopted recommendations and specified the directions of action ensuing from that inspection, which already are being implemented by the governor and the gmina chiefs.

Our voivodship party echelon as well as the gmina echelons and the basic party organizations must support these actions and monitor their current implementation. Above all, we must convince everyone concerned that such inspections have been conducted from concern for our agriculture, and that a consistent implementation of the postinspection recommendations is our party and civic duty.

In our socialist country we must bear in mind that man is the supreme value. All our actions, all our decisions must be preceded by the question of how they are judged by the farmer and viewed by society and what will they profit man. In this context, the quality of the cadre that, under the conditions of the reform, must manage properly our economy, is of tremendous importance. According to the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, "People have the right to be well-directed." Our agricultural economy must be characterized by a thrifty disposal of means of production, by the striving to utilize land fully and increase crop harvests and livestock production, by order and thriftiness at every step.

We have started the agricultural spring satisfactorily; grain and rapeseed have wintered quite well. We can think of our agriculture with some optimism.

But we must bear in mind that we have only won the first stage of this long race for harvests and subsequently milk and meat. Hence, even now it is time to make preparations for hay-mowing and harvesting.

This concerns not only agricultural producers but also those who purchase and process agricultural produce. It is time to make good preparations for these operations. There should not be a repetition of last year with its "disaster" harvest of vegetables and potatoes.

Comrades, the theme of the plenary meeting, so tremendously important to the voivodship and at the same time so difficult, will be enriched by creative discussion and motions. The Olsztyn Voivodship is an agricultural one and its increased output will be the key to the stabilization of our economy.

1386

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YUGOSLAVIA

COMPOSITION OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LD302234 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 29 Jun 82

["Composition of LCY Central Committee"--TANJUG headline]

[Summary] [No dateline given]--Abduli, Ramiz; Albreht, Roman; Alimpic, Dusan; Arif, Sahin; Atanasovski, Krste;

Babic, Milorad; Bakaric, Vladimir; Balazevic, Erzebet; Baltic, Milutin; Belovski, Dimce; Benak, Pal; Bilic, Jure; Balzevic, Jakov; Bogdanov, Dusan; Bojanic, Slobodan; Briski, Lojze; Bujanja, Nevena; Bulatovic, Marinko; Buntenska, Vera;

Ciuha, Joze; Cvetkovic, Marijan; Cemerski, Angel; Cuic, Dane; Curanoli, Fadilj;

Denkov, Boro; Deva, Veli; Dimovski, Stojan; Dizdarevic, Nijaz; Dolanc, Stane; Dragan, Zvone; Dragosavac, Dusan; Drulovic, Milojko; Dugonjic, Rato; Dzajkovski, Milan; Djuricin, Marko; Djuric, Predrag;

Fabinc, Ivo; Filipovic, Marko; Franovic, Nikica;

Galovic, Spiro; Gaspari, Majda; Gligorijevic, Dusan; Glomazic-Lekovic, Stanka; Goggova, Vesela; Gracanin, Petar; Grlickov, Aleksandar;

Hadzi-Vasilev, Kiro; Hasani, Sinan; Herljevic, Franjo; Hiseni, Sanije; Hocevar, Ivan; Hodza, Fadilj;

Igic, Ljubisa;

Jakovlevski, Trpe; Jaksic, Petar; Jankovic, Slavojka; Janzic, Vlado; Jovicic, Georgije;

Kevric, Saban; Kmezic, Nikola; Kolak, Rudi; Kolisevski, Lazar; Korajlic, Kemal; Kosovac, Dragutin; Kostic, Djordje; Kraigher, Sergej; Kristan, Anica; Krunic, Bosko; Kucan, Milan; Kukoc, Ivica; Kurtesi, Iljaz; Kurtovic, Todo;

Lazovic, Djordje; Lolic, Marko; Lucic, Milojko; Ljubicic, Nikola;

Major, Nandor; Mamula, Branko; Marceta, Zivko; Maricevic, Slavko; Markovic, Dragoslav; Matic, Petar; Matosevic, Rudolf; Mehovic, Ahmet; Mesihovic, Munir; Midzic, Fatima; Mihaljevic, Niko; Mijatovic, Cvijetin; Mikulic, Branko; Milacic, Obren; Miladinovic, Slavka; Milatovic, Meljko; Miletic, Luka; Milojevic, Smiljka; Minic, Milos; Mojsov, Lazar; Morina, Veselj;

Nedeljkovic, Bogoljub;

Ostojic, Mirko;

Pasic, Najdan; Pavid, Milan; Perisin, Ivo; Petrovic, Dragoljub; Planinc, Milka; Popit, France; Popovic, Dusan; Popovic, Mihajlo; Potrc, Miran; Puzovic, Radenko;

Racan, Ivica; Radakovic, Ilija; Radovic, Miljan; Rakic, Mico; Ramadani, Hisen; Raznatovic, Nikola; Ribicic, Mitja; Rozic, Marijan; Rubesa, Alenko;

Sekulovic, Zorka; Simic, Boro; Cirotkovic, Jankov; Smole, Janko; Spirkovski, Aleksandar; Srzentic, Vojo; Stambolic, Petar; Stefanovski, Metodija; Stojanovic, Nikola; Stojanovic, Stanislav; Stojcevski, Stojan; Strugar, Vlado; Siljegovic, Bosko; Siroka, Kolj; Sofranac, Drago; Spiljak, Mika; Sukrija, Ali;

Taipei, Taip; Tanovic, Arif; Trpenovski, Branko;

Ursic, Igor;

Vakic, Ilija; Vasic, Danilo; Vasiljevic, Zivan; Veljkovic, Dusan; Verbic, Andrej; Vidic, Dobrivoje; Vilovic, Tihomir; Vlajkovic, Radovan; Vlasi, Azem; Vlaskalic, Tihomir; Vratusa, Anton; Vrhoved, Josip; Vukadinovic, Vuko; Vukov, Bosko; Vukovic, Miodrag; Vuletic, Bruno;

Zupancic, Anton; Zarkovic, Vidoje; Zugic-Rijavec, Silvija.

On the basis of the LCY Statute, the presidents of republican and provincial central committees are ex officio members of the LCY Central Committee. However, the current presidents of the Croat League of Communists Central Committee (Jure Bilic) and of the Vojvodina (Marko Djuricin) and Kosovo (Sinan Hasani) League of Communists provincial committees were elected by the relevant congress or conference to membership of the LCY Central Committee. Therefore, the ex officio members of the LCY Central Committee are the following: Dusan Ckrebic, Dobroslav Culafic, Andrej Marinc, Kraste Markovski and Hamdija Pozderac.

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MAMULA ADDRESSES LCY CONGRESS COMMISSION

AU091645 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2242 1 Jul 82 p 5

[Report on speech by Adm Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, in the discussion at the 12th LCY Congress Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-protection in Belgrade on 27 June]

[Text] Having spoken in detail about the military-political situation in the world and having stressed those of its characteristics and factors which dangerously threaten peace in the world, Adm Branko Mamula said:

For this reason, when the defense of our country's freedom, independence and territorial integrity is involved, we communists of Yugoslavia and all our working people and citizens must in our assessments proceed from real circumstances in which our country could find itself. In accordance with this, we must take all measures which will make our country capable of successfully protecting and defending itself from all kinds of external and internal threats.

In this connection, naturally, I do not bear in mind only the measures and activities most directly linked with the field of all-people's defense and social self-protection, but also a more successful solution of the socioeconomic, political, intranational, class-social and all other problems in our society. Experience give us a sufficient lesson that the security and the international position of every country decisively depends on its internal unity and stability, for--as Comrade Tito stressed on an occasion--as a rule. Aggressions were not launched on those countries and peoples where strong resistance was expected and where the outcome of war for the aggressor was uncertain.

Our Country's Security Does Not Depend on Desires of its Enemies

It must be said that sometimes in individual social organs and circles, and even in certain organizations and organs of the League of Communists, insufficient care is taken about some problems. The problems include inconsistency and irresponsibility in implementing the strategic orientations of our revolution; acting in accordance with immediate and partial interests; deviations from our legal, socialist, self-managing, moral norms; and a slow and inadequate solving of economic, social and their problems. This insufficient care

weakens the defensive and self-protecting capability of our country and creates scope and conditions for imperialist and counterrevolutionary forces to act against our country and to threaten its security, socialist self-managing development and territorial integrity.

Just as it was not the case in the past, so also in the future our country's security and independence will not depend upon the wishes and intentions of its opponents, but primarily and decisively on its successful socialist self-managing development, on the unity of our peoples and nationalities and their readiness to defend their own freedom and, naturally, on the combat capability of our armed forces.

When the tasks of the League of Communists directly linked with all-people's defense and social self-protection are involved, then one of these tasks certainly is the further socialization of all affairs and measures in this field. In the period that we have left behind, significant results have been achieved and numerous experiences gained in this respect. A particular value of these results and experiences is the fact that the organization of defense and protection has to a great extent been transferred to the self-managing organizations and communities, to the republics, provinces and communes. Thus the possibilities have been created to base our defense and self-protecting system on a specific assessment of the situation, needs, material, cadre and other possibilities of every individual part of the sociopolitical and economic system.

Armed Forces as Backbone of the System of Mass All-People's Defense

As for the armed forces, in the past years they have been significantly increased in numbers and they are now larger than ever before. The armament and equipment of the armed forces is modern. All the necessary conditions have been created for an even more rapid domestic development of the basic kinds of armament and equipment on the technological level of contemporary armies. The cadre, scientific and development basis has been strongly developed and is further developing. The armed forces have become the backbone of a great system of mass all-people's defense, a system which originated from sociopolitical orientations and adopted constitutional provisions. All checks carried out in past years clearly demonstrate that the system of all-people's defense has been built and that all the prerequisites have been created so that this system can function in all, and even in the most difficult, war conditions. However, along with everything that was said, the affairs and tasks from the field of defense and protection have not yet become a matter for all social elements to the extent demanded by the concept of all-people's defense and protection, the political system of socialist self-management and a realistic appraisal of the military-political situation that exists.

For this reason the League of Communists must also in the future address all questions which refer to a more complete socialization of the defensive and self-protecting organization and activity. It must take the initiative and develop responsibility for the more consistent and rapid solving of these questions by the responsible organs and institutions.

Special attention must be paid to further preparing the socioeconomic system for its successful functioning under war conditions. In this connection, I primarily am referring to the preparation of the largest possible number of production and repair work organizations to begin, in case of need, producing armaments and other combat equipment, as well as the preparation of service facilities, the technical infrastructure and the entire economy for work under the most complex war conditions.

As part of this, we will have to pay considerably greater attention to food production in the hilly and mountainous areas; to developing the so-called small-scale economy necessary for a lengthy war on our entire territory; to providing the necessary reserves of motor fuel, producer goods and other means needed for living and fighting; and to achieving greater technological and engineering independence of economic and other capacities, particularly those which will directly produce for the needs of all-people's defense.

Greater Attention to Food Production and Development of the "Small Economy"

The realization of the principle of relying on one's own forces in defense and protection means and demands that in the field of overall production we ensure as much as possible our technological and engineering independence, that we search for our own solutions which will enable us to utilize our own raw material base, energy and overall economic and cadre potential.

To achieve this, it will be necessary to work more and more directly on uniting the overall scientific potential of our society, on stimulating and directing it toward finding new solutions not only in the production of armaments and military equipment but also in the production of all other means important for our military defensive and economic independence.

The complex military-political situation, the strengthening of the armed potential in the world, and the dangers resulting from this for the country's security demand a constant perfection of the armed forces so as to ensure that they, with their combat readiness, discourage every attempt at pressure or threatening the independence and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and its socialist self-managing development.

As I have already stressed at the beginning, the most important and constantly topical tasks for the further development of the armed forces are: to have a high level training, to equip them with modern arms and other combat equipment, to perfect commanding and leading to ensure a sufficient quality officer cadre and, it goes without saying, to strengthen their moral-political unity and all-people's character.

Great Undertakings in Training Units, Commands and Staffs

Great results have been achieved in training the units, commands and staffs. The peacetime cadre has invested and is investing enormous efforts to train the regular contingents of soldiers, and together with the reserve officers, a wartime army that is ten times larger.

Because we measure the training of the armed forces for war with strict criteria that result from our geostrategic position, it is understandable that we constantly aim for higher and better results. For this reason, in the training of units, commands and staffs, we must constantly perfect forms and find new contents which will enable us to defeat a numerically and technically stronger opponent with our combat skill and our capabilities in using arms and exploiting the terrain.

Naturally, we must prepare everyone for all tasks of struggle and resistance, regardless of whether these people are to be part of combat units of the armed forces or of other defense structures. Likewise, it will be necessary to link the training of the organs of work organizations and sociopolitical organizations increasingly more with the training of the units, commands and staffs of the Yugoslav People's Army.

We also face special tasks and increased efforts in the field of the equipping and the further technical modernization of the armed forces. This is a problem that becomes particularly topical when we have complex economic problems in the country and when the purchase of modern combat means, producer goods and spare parts is increasingly more restricted because of a constant increase in prices on the world market and other restricting factors.

For this reason it will be necessary to achieve an increased involvement of all subjects in society and the army to realize as consistently as possible the program of the equipping and the further technical modernization of the armed forces. This calls for finding solutions which will ensure a stable financing for the long-term programs of modernizing the armed forces.

...A significant factor for the further modernization of our armed forces is the achieved technical and technological level in the research institutions and industry. We consider that all the necessary conditions have been created for an even more rapid domestic development of basic armaments and equipment on the technological level of modern armies. The strong cadre, scientific and development basis in the Yugoslav People's Army and society, and the achieved capacities of the arms industry and other industries--these things make it possible for us to equip a high percentage (some 80 percent) of our armed forces with armaments and equipment from our own factories. At the same time, our overall development and technological potential and capacities, along with increased efforts in producing raw materials, producer goods and equipment, provide us with new possibilities for exports. I have in mind the export of finished goods and technology, and developing various kinds of cooperation with friendly, primarily nonaligned, countries. This can be of great economic importance to our entire country. At the same time it will help strengthen the defense of the countries which do not want to be linked with and depend on the great powers in equipping their armed forces....

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END